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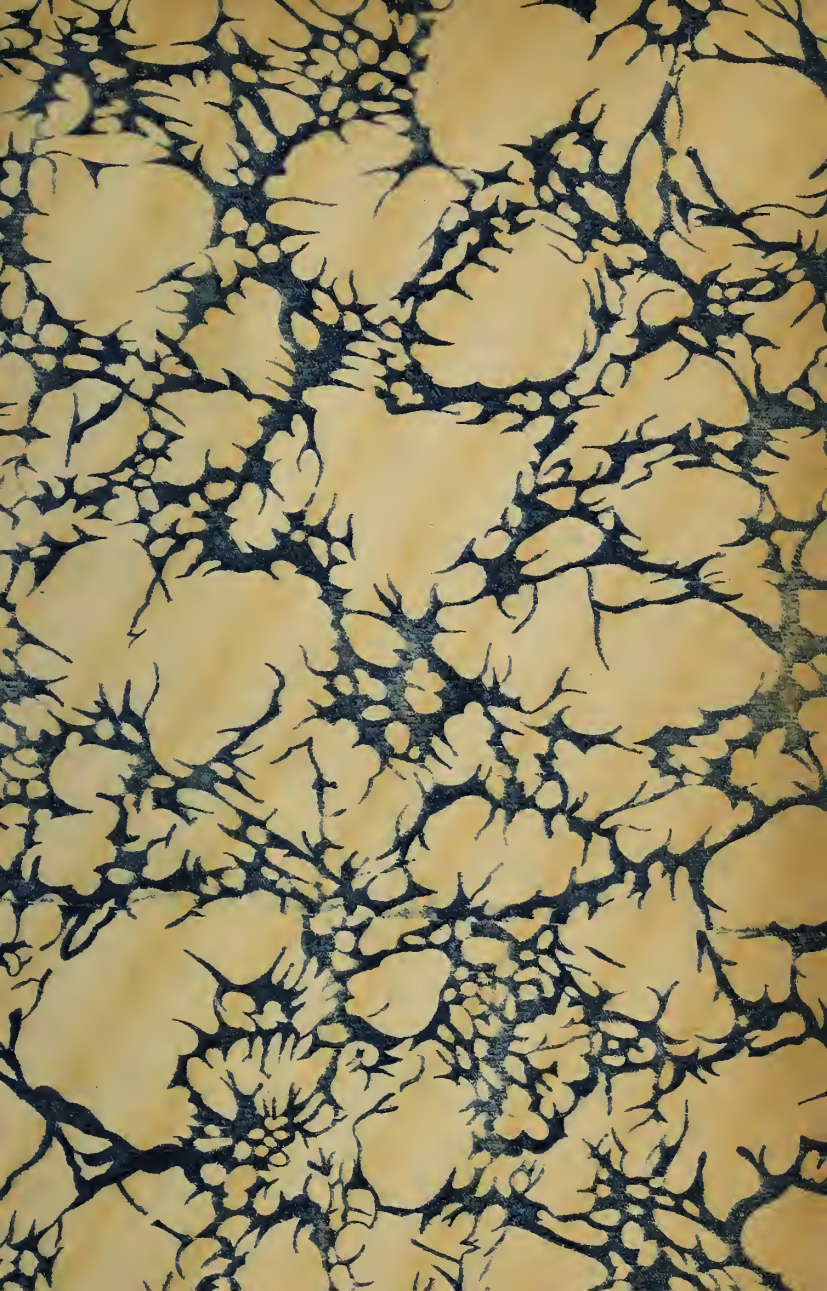

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MEDIÆVAL MANNERS ILLUSTRATED AT THE CLUNY MUSEUM

WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE MOST IMPORTANT EXHIBITS

BY

EDMOND HARAUCOURT

CURATOR OF THE CLUNY MUSEUM

LIBRAIRIE LAROUSSE, PARIS

MEDIÆVAL MANNERS

ILLUSTRATED AT

THE CLUNY MUSEUM

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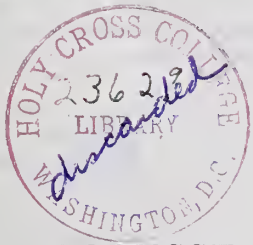
MEDIÆVAL MANNERS
ILLUSTRATED AT THE
CLUNY MUSEUM
A GUIDEBOOK
TO THE ROOMS AND COLLECTIONS

BY

Edmond HARAUCOURT

Curator of the Cluny Museum,
Member of the Comité des Monuments Historiques



LIBRAIRIE LAROUSSE — PARIS
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FOREWORD

I have attempted, in the following pages, to bring out the psychology of the various French ages from a study of French works and furniture.

This little volume is not designed for scholars but for the general public, and more particularly for youthful readers and all persons of good will who are anxious to understand and be moved. To understand already means to love. We are ignorant of too many things, and that ignorance deprives us of a thousand exquisite pleasures which perpetually spring up before us unawares. From history we are taught the list of successive battles and kings, the tragedies of the royal palace and the courtiers' intrigues. But of the people's intimate life what do we know? Of the race in the making, of its thoughts, which bred our own, of its manners and needs, of the dreams it brooded over so as to hatch them into reality of the long, painstaking patience which attended our infancy, of the throes at our birth, we know nothing; and that is a great pity.

It has often been repeated that Art belongs to no particular country. No phrase can be more untrue, if taken in a literal sense. It simply means that we are free to love or admire the creations of art, whatever their origin may be, since they all alike embody the aspirations of mankind. But the eclectism of art-fanciers shall not prevent these works from having a mother-country, for they actually and preeminently are the psychical expression of the race from which they proceed. Every people, at every moment of its history,

has borne the consequences of historical events. Which period, more fitly than our own, might serve to illustrate this truth? What we at present verify has been of constant occurrence. After every shock, the ways of living, feeling and thinking, have been modified. And the more violent the crisis, the deeper the change. Manners ever alter with circumstances; and ideas evolve with the new aspects of the freshly-born future. Quite naturally this transformation of tastes, morals, and notions, will be rendered perceptible, in the materiel sphere, by an alteration in fashions, furniture, and the several knicknacks that are the auxiliaries of everyday life. In the spiritual order, it will find expression in the creations of art. The parallel progress of events, manners, and feelings presents successive, though corresponding stages. The same connection which may be seen linking together historical facts, reveals itself with like evidence between the various phases of moral evolution and the manifestations of art.

A work of art, therefore, is a document of social psychology. The sequence of these works represents the successive states of the mind of those who lived before us, struggling, labouring, and bleeding, in order to make us what we are. In its respective works of art, every human group in every age, every district of every country, has given in turn the formula of its own passions and sufferings, of its creed and aspirations. Art is a nation's confession; it is the permanent witness of man's hopes and of the ensuing disappointment.

All ages alike have similarly aimed at a state of happiness whereof they seemed to catch a glimpse, but which presently vanished from their sight. All, feeling equally certain of having secured the final truth, have testified to their faith by building on he ground the monument which they mean to bequeath to the ages to come. Thus the chronology of the works still shows us the stages of that inveterate mysticism which withstands all disillusions and ever worships with like enthusiasm an ideal for ever changing.

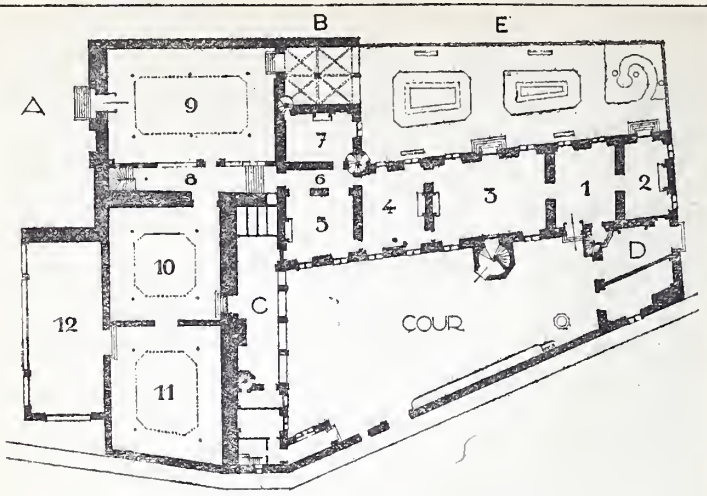
To study art without bringing it together with history, would mean scrutinizing an effect and overlooking the cause; to record a result without penetrating its deeply human significance, would be to show the substance without considering the soul. Now a museum is a collection of souls.

As for such fragile débris as are somewhat scornfully termed " knicknacks ", they are hardly less venerable. Apart from all æsthetical value, be it ever so indifferent or even quite null, they make up our heirloom. The more intimate their nature is, the stronger their power of evocation if we only know how to appreciate what they embody. Living history is breathed from these dead things. They were loved in their time; and who was it that loved them? Those people from whom we are descended and who cleared the way for us. These things were at once the creations of our forefathers, their auxiliaries at work, their companions in their home life. In the very dwelling where they once filled a place and played a part, we ourselves were by them in the bud. One might almost say that the hands which touched them were our own in an age when we were not yet born.

And they quiver at it still ! The amount of labour which had to be yielded, the sum total of hardships that must be undergone from age to age, to trudge on to where we now stand, these things have stored up all, day after day. They are the relics of our past, and the house where they are gathered is the sanctuary of a nation. Standing thus side by side, they mark the secular stages of a family marching on to its goal.

Unknown the goal may be ; yet the steps remain unweary. No age has ever caught sight of the end which those that follow shall possibly reach. The best means for guessing whither we go is to examine whence we come. For the line is a steady one, and the race is homogeneous. The generations come and go, ousting each other, unlike in appearance, yet identical at bottom, and all instinct with the one and same power, to wit : their hereditary soul.

EDMOND HARAUCOURT.



PLAN OF THE " HOTEL DE CLUNY "
AND INDEX TO THE COLLECTIONS

OUTSIDE THE HOTEL :

A — Salle des Thermes : Stone carvings, from the 1st to the XIVth century.

B — Porch under the chapel : Stone carvings, of the XVth and beginning of the XVIth century.

C — Arcades in the Great Courtyard : Stone carvings, of the XVIth and XVIIth centuries.

D — Vaulted passage.

E — Garden.

GROUND-FLOOR : *Stone, leather and metal work.*

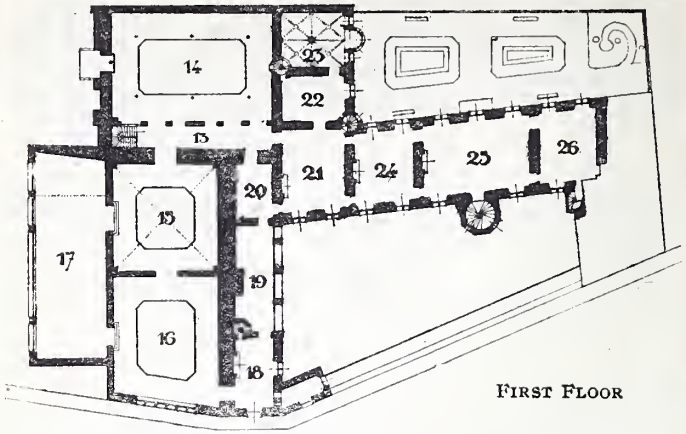
Room I — Vestibule.
» II — Foot-wear.
» III — Leather articles.
» IV — Lead and pewter.
» V — Bronze.
» VI — Corridor of mirrors
» VII — Audéoud Collect.
Room VIII — Corridor of Spanish Reredos.
» IX — Carved wood
» X — Iron-work.
» XI — Iron-work (Room of the Holy Spirit)
» XII — Coaches.

THE "PALAIS DES THERMES"

and the "HOTEL DE CLUNY"

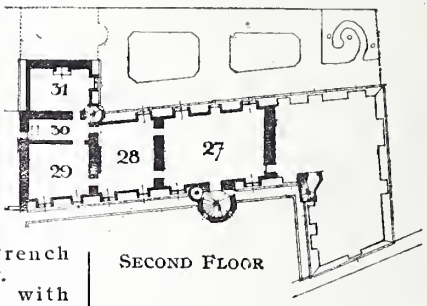
THE building consists of two quite distinct parts, one belonging to the Gallo-Roman period, the other to the late XVth century. The Roman portion was probably erected during the reign of the Emperor Hadrian. It possibly dates back to the year 132 A. D., but at any rate, is not later than 228 A. D. Moreover the name « Palais des Thermes » is incorrect ; the Middle Ages were more precise when they said « the Thermes ». It has been proved that, contrary to a belief held even of late years, the building was never a palace inhabited by emperors, but a sumptuous warm-bath establishment, analogous with the Thermes of Caracalla in Rome, and built close by another similar, though less luxurious, establishment which stood on the site of the present Collège de France. At that time, long gardens planted with fig trees, vines and rose-bushes, ran down to the Seine. The Emperor Julian, however fond he may have been of this charming spot, never made it his official residence. The reason was that he already possessed one in the « île de la Cité », precisely where the « Palace of Justice » (Law-Courts) now stands.

It has also been asserted that the Frankish monarchs lived and that Klodomir's children were murdered here; again that it was the residence of Charlemagne, but none of these fanciful suppositions is either founded on fact or



FIRST FLOOR

PLAN OF THE "HOTEL DE CLUNY" (*continued*)



SECOND FLOOR

FIRST FLOOR

Precious Materials.

Room XIII — Passage.
» XIV — Balcony with French crockery.
» XV — Balcony with Italian crockery.
» XVI — Balcony with oriental and hispano moresque crockery.
» XVII — Enamels.
» VIII — Hebrew Collect.
» XIX — Music.
» XX — The "Small Ceiling" Room.
» XXI — Francis I. Room.
» XXII — The White Queen's Room.
» XXIII — Chapel.
» XXIV — Ivories.
» XXV — Glass-ware.

Room XXVI — The Crown Room.

SECOND FLOOR

Textiles, Embroideries and Lace work.

Room XXVII — Sacerdotal garments and embroidery.
» XXVIII — Secular clothes and embroidery.
» XXIX — Lace-work.
» XXX — Silk fabrics.
» XXXI — Linen goods.

likely. From the early days of the barbaric invasion the bathing installation had lost all its practical use ; yet the massive pile remained standing. In 885 the Normans set fire to it while besieging Paris ; some calcined stones still exist in the arches of the *Tepidarium*. Numerous suburban habitations were erected within the shelter of the Roman walls, wherein holes may still be seen into which the beams of the floorings and roofs were fitted. Howbeit the land and ruins were still part of the royal domain. Philippe-Auguste disposed of them in 1215 and in the following century they were in the hands of the Benedictines of Cluny.

This powerful brotherhood had already been in existence for three centuries. In 909, William, duke of Aquitaine, had given the domain and village of Cluny in Burgundy to a poor Benedictine monk, to enable him to found his monastery there. The property was « free from all secular power, even royal, and from all ecclesiastical power, excepting the Pope's ». These Cluniacs rapidly grew rich and inclined to ostentation. A century and a half after the foundation of the Order, Saint-Bernard already reproached them with their princely and luxurious way of living, with the Abbot's three-score horses, his escort of honour, and his magnificent buildings. They were soon to act as hosts to popes, kings and emperors. Then, by way of reaction, the rival institution of Citeaux established itself opposite the Cluny building, and, to heighten the contrast between the two orders, imposed upon itself, from the outset, strict principles which however were quickly relaxed. Yet the antagonism between the black friars at Cluny and the white friars at Citeaux did not cease to exist. Twenty years later the latter in their turn had grown so rich and powerful that they owned eighteen hundred monasteries and fourteen hundred nunneries. Once more the austere pastor of the Crusades became alarmed at such prosperity just as he had formerly become indignant at the Cluniacs' splendour.

In 1340, the monks of Cluny had recently acquired the

antique building of the Thermes in Paris. On the site of this construction Peter of Chalus, twenty-first abbot of the order, caused to be built, not a convent, but an abbatial mansion called the « House of the Thermes » (Maison des Thermes). A century later, his successors owned two more *hôtels* in the neighbouring rue de la Harpe, one of which bore the sign of the « Escu de Bretaigne »; for houses, in those time bore not numbers, but a distinctive sign, frequently carved or wrought. Under Louis XI, Jean III of Bourbon, the forty-second abbot, undertook works, the exact nature of which has remained unknown but which doubtless suggested those which his successor was to resume and carry out. The present dwelling was only built during the reign of Charles VIII, by Jacques of Amboise, proof of which is furnished by the carving on a capital of the gallery built under the chapel, where the coat of arms of the abbot Jacques is to be seen in juxtaposition with the initial of King Charles, a gothic « K » surmounted by a royal crown. The former's abbotship having begun in 1485 and the reign of the latter ending in 1498, the erection of the hotel must have taken place between these two dates. The Abbot Jacques of Amboise was brother to Cardinal George of Amboise, minister of Louis XII. A few years after one of the brothers had built the « Hôtel de Cluny », the second in his turn built the magnificent château of Gaillon, not far from Louviers. Even as Jacques had devoted to the erection of this mansion part of the fifty thousand angels which England had paid, so did George set apart for the work at Gaillon the moneys paid as a fine by the city of Genoa to the French King and granted by him to his minister. Again, as the château at Gaillon became the country-seat of the archbishops of Rouen, so did the « Hôtel de Cluny » serve as a temporary residence for the abbots of the Order and their guests.

It was usual then for high personages and powerful families, whose ordinary abode was their château, to possess some dwelling-place close to the king, whereof they availed themselves either for their own use or that of their

friends. Hence the etymological meaning of the word « hotel » or « hostel », namely, the house of the *host*. But the hospitality thus offered was not always disinterested ; the manners of the XIVth century permitted these lordly hotels to become, through being let, a source of income for their owners. The practice seems to have continued for some time, but finally fell into disuse. The first person mentioned as having received hospitality here, either free or paying, is Queen Mary, the sister of Henry VIII, king of England, and third wife of Louis XII.

Twenty years later, in this same hotel, Francis I received James V, King of Scotland, who was then engaged to his daughter. In the XVIIIth chapter of his « Pantagruel », Rabelais mentions Thaumaste, an Englishman, who while staying in Paris ordered a drink from « the porter of the Hotel de Cluny, where he was lodged ». This quotation induces the belief that the ancient custom of letting rooms had not been abolished by the middle of the XVIth century. Further we find in 1584 a still more direct proof : when Claude of Guise was abbot of Cluny, part of the hotel was let to a company of actors who set up their stage in one of the halls. The scandals which took place rendered necessary an order of the *parlement*, dispersing the company.

From 1600 to 1681, the Hotel de Cluny served as residence for the Pope's nuncios. Mazarin lived there before he became chief Minister. After these prelates, unknown tenants followed for half a century ; then came Delisles, an astronomer, in 1748 ; an attorney in 1768, and a printer in 1771.

At that time the chapel was divided into stories by a flooring which probably rested on brackets. However, even if the abbots of Cluny had long ceased to occupy this residence, they still remained the owners of it, and an emphyteutic lease, dated 1789, is a proof thereof.

During the Revolution, a committee held its meetings here ; the statues were smashed, the shields defaced and the artistic woodwork of the chapel was used to make a bonfire in the courtyard itself. The building became

national property, but was soon re-sold (for 92.000 francs), and passed from owner to owner. The chapel was turned into a dissecting room. In other parts of the building appeared a bookseller and a laundress, and in the Thermes a cooper. The top of the tower having become an observatory let to the Admiralty, was used by the astronomer Messier who studied the heavens therefrom for half a century, and discovered twenty one new planets.

Finally the architect Albert Lenoir, (the son of Alexandre Lenoir, the founder of the Museum of National Antiquities) conceived the idea of uniting the three adjoining buildings *viz* : the Palais des Thermes, Hôtel de Cluny and the Convent of the Mathurins (since destroyed), in order to establish a vast museum devoted to French History. The plan was only realised after a ten years'effort. In 1843, the State bought back the Hôtel de Cluny for 390.000 francs and the municipality presented the government with the Palais des Thermes. M. Alexandre du Sommerard's collection, which was bought at the same time, then contained fourteen hundred objects. This collection went to form the nucleus of the Museum which was inaugurated on the 16th of March 1844. At the present day, the exhibits number over twenty thousand.

FIRST PART

TIMES and IDEAS

Times and Ideas

In order that a preliminary study may be made of the periods taken as a whole, and of the styles which characterise them, monumental sculpture is shown first in the following order :

A. Salle des Thermes. From the Roman conquest to the end of the XIVth century.
B. Porch under the Chapel. XVth century and beginning of the Renaissance.
C. Arcades of the Great Courtyard. XVIth and XVIIth centuries.
D. Vaulted archway of the Great Courtyard. XVIth and XVIIth centuries.
E. Garden. — Various periods.

A. — "SALLE DES THERMES"

In the Salle des Thermes is displayed the sculpture of the Gallo-Roman and Romanesque epochs, and of Gothic art down to the end of the XIVth century.

GALLO-ROMAN PERIOD
(From the Ist to the IVth century)

The geographical situation of France, as a kind of crossroads, destined it to be the meeting point of migrations from the North, the East and the South, and its inhabitants to be a mixture of races. These circumstances were normally bound to affect the spirit of the people who were gradually fashioned by each successive change. Modern science labours to prove that advantages and specific defects are inherent in the cross-

breeding of plants, animals and men. Even to this day, it is easy enough to find in the French provinces, ethnic or moral survivals of ill-assorted heredities prevailing here and there. It is legitimate to believe that the origin of both the genius and dissension of this country lies in this diversity of our constitutive elements, which was in itself so rich in humanity.

Who were first occupants of the land? Are the French megalithic monuments the work of the Celts or of still more ancient aborigines? Opinions differ, for the oldest relics only date back to fifteen centuries before Christ.

In those days a branch of the Aryan family, the Gaels (or Galates, Gauls) inhabited the country; on countless occasions their venturesome tribes crossed the Pyrenees and the Alps, now conquering one half of Spain, now subduing and capturing Rome, marching across Italy, ravaging Greece, reaching Macedonia and Thrace, going still further to terrorise Asia Minor and found Galatia.

The Gauls were tall and fair, valorous and loyal, fine-spoken and presumptuous, sharp-witted, assimilative, and eager for information. They loved fine apparel and jewels, but they fought naked, through pride, and scorned death inasmuch as they believed in the immortality of the soul. Six hundred years before our era, Aristotle and Pythagoras quoted them as standing out foremost amongst men for their moral virtues and their philosophical ideas. They were taught and governed by their priests the druids, they had neither books, nor temples nor idols and they worshipped their gods in sacred forests.

And yet this independent, virgin Gaul with such promise of fecundity was torn to pieces by internal wars, just as Greece had been, and she died, like Greece, at the hands of invaders, thus causing the individuality of her noble people to perish before showing its full worth. Already the Phocæan colonists had founded Marseilles (600 B. C.), and even the Romans had attempted an avenging incursion into the Senonian district. A second time (in 129 B. C.), their legions crossed the Alps and established their first province on conquered land; hence the name of « Provence ». Finally, Julius Cæsar appeared and made his way to the North (59-51 B. C.). Roman civilisation easily and speedily implanted itself amongst a race greedy of novelty and luxury, and which possessed an artistic inclination. A new Gaul sprang up and grew magnificent. It was covered with monuments and villas, bridges,

roads, carvings and statues, the works of a purely Roman art, on which the native art had not set its mark. Olympian gods intermarried with local deities, creeds were mixed up, Western and Northern legends became interspersed with figures and fancies from the East. As early as the middle of the IVth century, Gaul was so thoroughly romanised, that the Emperor Julian could conceive the twofold dream of transporting to Lutetia the official see of his empire and restoring paganism in it (361). At the same time, a new god was approaching this country. Saint Martin preached christianity in 372; but in the face of this spiritual invasion a more terrible one was imminent already.

As an eagle watches its prey, the Barbarians from over the Rhine were watching that Gallic prosperity which proved so tempting both for its riches and its climate, yet was undermined by abuse of pleasures and excess of taxes. A tremendous raid marked the beginning of the Vth century. Gaul was destroyed at one stroke. The conquerors settled down. Other elements were to follow in their train; but already the three essential factors : Gallic, Roman and Frankish, were about to unite and build up a new nation.

A long toil and a grievous one ! The Gallo-Roman world had lasted four centuries; five more were needed to revive the desert which the hordes left behind them : the forests grew again and were peopled with wild beasts.

In the middle of the room :

Four gallo-roman altars of stone, found in 1710 in the island of the Cité under the choir of Notre-Dame de Paris :

Altar, known as *the Dedication Altar.* The upper portion of a votive monument, representing the homage rendered by the Parisian watermen (Nautæ Parisiaci) to the Emperor Tiberius (14-37 A. D.) The emperor, who is receiving them, is seated, crowned with a laurel wreath and assisted by two Roman dignitaries. One of the sides bears the inscription : TIB. CAESARE. AVG. IOVI. OPTVM (O) MAXSVMO. V... NAVTAE. PARISIACI. PUBLICE, POSVERVN (T).

Altar, known as *Jupiter's.* A massive piece of masonry consisting of two superincumbent portions, the four sides of

which are ornamented with bas-reliefs which testify to a combination of the native and the invader's creeds and represent Jupiter (IOVIS), Vulcan, Esus, and a Bull bearing three cranes (TAVROS TRIGARANVS).

Altar, known as *the Four Gods'*. The upper portion. On the four sides, in bas-relief, are the busts of four divinities, surmounted by inscriptions as titles : CERNUNNOS, CASTOR, POLLUX; the fourth has not been identified (S... RI...), and shows a man armed with a club, about to strike a serpent.

Altar, known as *the Eight Gods'*. The upper portion of the altar, the base of which is missing. Busts of the eight gods in bas-relief, two on each side. On the border, several fragments of the inscription still remain ...ERV... FOR... (MINERVA, FORTUNA).

Altar, known as **St. Landry's**. Three of the sides are hollowed out and contain carved figures in high relief, *viz* : a goddess holding a torch ; a bearded and helmeted god clothed in a tunic ; a beardless god in armour, holding a lance and wearing the muzzle of a lion as head-dress ; on the fourth side are imbricated water leaves. From excavations made in 1829 under the church of St. Landry, in the Cité.

A hare hunt, bas-relief, same origin.

A bull, high-relief. Found in 1806 in the basement of the belfrey of St. Marcel's church Paris.

Three shafts and a capital (marble). From the excavations in front of the porch of Notre-Dame, Paris, 1847.

A marble capital found in 1843. Originally belonged to a pagan temple which stood on the hill of Montmartre, and had been used again in the masonry of the church of St. Pierre. The temple was dedicated to Mercury, hence the name Mont-Mercre, corrupted into Montmartre.

On the floor of the baths :

A fragment of a tesselated pavement, discovered in 1856 at Lunery (Cher).

Above the baths :

Two springings of an arch in the shape of a boat, symbolising the City of Lutetia or the Parisian watermen. (Nautes Parisiens).

MEROVINGIAN PERIOD

(from the Vth to the VIIIth century)

A chaos. The Huns have passed (451). Clodius, Merovius and Childeric have bred Clovis. Clovis, after crushing the last of the Romans, triumphed over the Saxons, the Burgundians and the Visigoths. He was christened and founded an empire that did not last (511); nothing could survive in that dark, atrocious age in which history only depicts a confused mass of wild beasts roaming aimlessly. Killing was rife everywhere, murder being the only logic. Men slew one another whenever they met, either in towns or in the country; in princely families rival interests were settled with the dagger. Be they conquerors or vanquished, the masters were like wild beasts and the serfs like beasts of burden. Throughout the vth century things were the same; in the vith they may have grown worse, and in the viith they remained unchanged. By means of its bishops, the Church vainly tried to humanise these ferocious animals. It was useless for Dagobert (628) to show both greatness and firmness. Whoever had some soul could only find shelter in the cloisters; but even then, this only meant banishment and precarious safety. The idle Kings slept in their palaces up to the middle of the viiith century, when they were awakened by a great shock to which they succumbed.

It was Arabia this time that came towards us, Mohamed had been born at Mecca in 571 and, under the Koran, the fanatical tribes met together, united and set out to conquer Syria, Persia, Egypt, Northern Africa, Spain and France. At Poitiers, the Frank and the Mussulman, the Cross and the Crescent, stood face to face for the first time (732). They struggled from the time of Charles-Martel to that of Francis I and it may be considered that the day of the Poitiers battle, on which two races clashed, each with its own god, is memorable by the fact that it showed the existence of a Western religion and demonstrated the unity of mind that was the outcome of it.

In the vaulted hall, in the South East corner of the « Salle des Thermes ».

Seven capitals (marble), very probably Eastern work imported into France and used in the Merovingian basilica of St. Denis.

CAROLINGIAN PERIOD
(IXth and Xth centuries)

The son of Pepin the Short put body and life into the monstrous mass which had grovelled for nearly four centuries. For such a work he first of all required strength, since right went to the strongest ; not only was this the best doctrine in those times, but it was the only one. Unity was obtained by means of arms. In order to protect what he had constructed, Charlemagne relied upon two moral authorities. One of these was dead, but as its prestige still existed it could probably come to life again. The other, then only nascent, was destined to govern the masses. These authorities were the Roman Empire and the Gospel of Christ ; that is, human laws and a law divine. Charlemagne restored the former and set up the latter. The untiring efforts of the Bishops, who had worked from the day of Tolbiac (496) to civilise the new world, finally met with success in 800 when they caused a Christian Emperor to be crowned in Rome.

He assembled beneath his sword all the peoples from Rome to the Baltic and from Bohemia to the Pyrenees. The sub-divisions of so vast a domain more or less followed those of the ancient provinces of Cæsar. The administration was entrusted to dukes (*dux*, general) counts (*comes*, companion) and marquises (marches, border provinces) and this was the embryo of Feudalism. These governmental provinces were superintended by the Envoys of the Master (*Missi Dominici*), one a clerk and the other a layman. The master was surrounded by advisors ; but the dukes and bishops, the counts and abbots held their consultations independently in their Councils, and thus it was that a hierarchy became established to the detriment of ancient equality. For the custom formerly prevailed amongst the Franks to allow every free man to take part in the deliberations. Charlemagne, the Master, regulated military service ; he compelled the priests to piety, charity and study ; he reformed the discipline of the

monasteries, created the tithe (one *tenth*) for the benefit of parishes; he founded schools and encouraged literature; he built bridges and basilicas, and dictated his Decretals. He possessed a genius for order, and he imposed it. When he died he could truly believe that he had founded a world (814).

And yet, he had only built up a system; for a thousand years after his death, the memory of his colossal effort inspired all those who, as he did, aspired to unite the West under the rule of one master. The task was always precarious, as its ambition clashed with the irreducible hostility of races which were too ill-assorted. No sooner was the emperor in his tomb than the dismemberment began.

With Louis the Debonair, the principle of authority collapsed; with his sons, the unity of the State was divided into three parts, viz: France, Germany and Italy. Already France itself was beginning to split up and subdivide; hereditability of fiefs created territorial autonomies, and hereditability of offices overthrew the central power.

The integrity of the land was no longer even defended. The Norman pirates came and besieged Paris (885); they demanded a province, established themselves there, and gave it their name (911).

From the beginning of the xth century, the king was no longer master of his own domain. Just as the last Merovingians had come under the tutelage of the mayors of the palace, so did the Carolingians, who were dying out, come under the hand of the Dukes of France. They lacked both land and money. In 946, Louis d'Outremer possessed but one fortress, Laon, and this was taken from him. He called foreigners to his aid, and by so doing became a foreigner himself. At the end of two brief generations the race became extinct (987).

But another was about to spring up, which would benefit by the disciplinary education which Charlemagne had given his peoples. The imperial idea was revived in the form of royalty, and the task of the Capetians became one of realising in France the unity which Charlemagne's ambition had sought to establish in the West. We pass from the great to the small; yet from an idle fancy we also pass to the possible. Although the task was reduced, the kings found it still difficult and long, for it was started in 987 and it only ended in 1477.

From Hugues Capet's accession onwards, these two great forces confronted and set each other at defiance. The ques-

tion which the struggle of royalty against feudalism had to resolve was whether France should be united to make her strong, or divided to keep her powerless. Was she to be one nation with one chief, or to remain a collection of disconnected provinces with hundreds of masters? Was she to form a people, or mere heirlooms and dowries? The question was a vital one and the struggle lasted five centuries.

But yet another problem needed a solution, which was more urgent and momentous still. Before constituting a people, it was necessary to shape men worthy of this title and to give them gradually an intellectual and moral education. At that time, however, intelligence and morality existed only in the Church ; and under her protection alone could those exceptional beings, the pioneers of civilization, then live.

To understand and judge the psychological drama of that period, two elements must be taken into consideration : on the one hand, the world of laymen, eager for battle, and on the other, the clerical world, a disciplined and homogeneous body, eager for peace.

The former was a kind of barbarian encampment where chiefs alone counted, and in which the transfer of property only took place either by inheritance or crime. Men with desperate desires killed each other and trod under foot the ignoble mass of serfs. Among the clergy spiritual tasks were sought for, privileges of birth counted little or not at all. Titles and powers went to the most deserving, by election, and a man of genius, were he the son of a serf, could rise to the highest positions, and set his foot on the brow of kings and emperors.

How were these intellectuals, few in number and weaponless, going to impose themselves on such brutes and guide them? By what prestige was a bishop, armed only with a pastoral crook amongst swords and axes, going to subdue might which was stronger than right? How was he going to introduce an ideal into this savagery, in order to spiritualise it? The mere teaching of a doctrine would be misunderstood; owing to the state of intellect, no hope could be entertained that these moralising influences could enforce themselves unaided and prove a restraint. Might could only be subdued by the fear of superior might and the apprehension of some chastisement. It was necessary therefore that this chastisement should appear inevitable; but if, in addition, the threat be wrapped up in mystery, it becomes all the more disturbing and efficacious. Those

childlike generations were superstitious rather than truly religious; the Church could only impose some degree virtue on them, by setting it between two terrors or damnations ; one to come, but eternal, the other immediate but no less frightful ; namely, hell for the dead and excommunication for the living. An excommunicated person would no longer have any soul, family or friends ; cut off from all human society, he was reduced to the level of a hunted beast and defiled the air he breathed. He was pestilence itself, and even to see him from afar created fear.

Thanks to these two arms, the Church became all powerful. She was, in truth, the only undisputed power of the IXth century, the only one which made itself obeyed without question. The bishops imposed on all, without distinction, the authority of their judgments, penances and fines. The fines, numberless as the crimes, enriched the Church with incredible speed, and she alone was able to possess property without peril, or nearly so, for she took care to put her riches under the protection of the Saints. The redemptions she demanded for faults were not offered to men who perish and could be robbed, but to the tomb of some Saint who would consecrate this treasure and defend it. Every person before dying made their expiatory bequest to the relics of some celestial protector and by so doing bought his intercession. In this way, the relics were not long in becoming the owners of one third of country : no heir dared to claim any patrimony whatsoever which was thus protected by excommunication and Hell. The Pope became supreme, and the Church could henceforth give moral laws.

However, this ingenious victory of mind over matter was not always going to bear fruit ; one fault compromised it and hindered its benefit. In the middle of the Xth century a Pope reconstructed the Germanic empire (962). From thence onwards the princes of the Church were but the creatures of this revived power; the Emperor appointed the Pope, the bishoprics and abbeys being the only non-hereditary fiefs. The privilege of investing the bishops and abbots passed to the paramount laymen who bestowed the offices as rewards, or sold them to the highest bidder, without even considering whether the holder had received holy orders or not. Thieves and robbers donned the mitre.

A recrudescence of savagery characterised the end of that

century which was thought to be the last. The year One Thousand approached, and it was believed that in that year God would destroy the earth. A haste to enjoy life, mingled with the fear of the Judgment Day, spread terror over the age. The civilising efforts made by the bishops in the IXth century miscarried in the Xth, even as that of Charlemagne had previously failed. In the following century a third attempt was undertaken by the monasteries which tried to save the world. For a time their industrious gloom was the last refuge for human thought.

To what kind of art could these periods lay claim? When Charlemagne built, it was with a view to durability, and his rare monuments testify to massive strength without an ideal. Besides, this lack of taste found elegance only in luxury; jewelry was as barbarous as the race itself and soul was absent from it. As soon as France, superstitious as she was, became truly Christian, her faith revealed her soul.

Already she had an embryonic language ; the oath of Strasbourg, in 842, marked the apparition of the hybrid idiom which later became the French language.

At the bottom of the stairs :

Base of pillar (?) decorated with gadrooned craters (Roman cups) and foliage.

In the small vaulted chamber :

Sarcophagi of stone, from the Gallo-Roman, Merovingian and Carolingian periods. For the most part the result of excavations in Paris.

XIth CENTURY

ORDINARILY, centuries constitute conventional enough divisions. It would indeed be surprising if the entry into a new century should coincide exactly with a modification of facts or ideas. The XIth century is the only exception; of a truth it may be considered that the modification took place at the accession of the Capetians (987) ; but it is no less certain that psychologically it commenced on the morrow of the year 1000, and that at that precise date there began a new era. Indeed, in the year 1000 the world should have come to an end; a mistaken

interpretation of the Apocalypse had given credit to this prognostic. Gratitude towards God moved to enthusiasm the Christian world which its Saviour had spared from destruction. Men henceforth dared to erect durable temples which could not have been built when everything was to perish. But their mind is still impressed by the terrors which accompanied its birth. From birth this world is visionary, fright haunts it and it only dreams of Hell. Everywhere the enemy, which is the devil, is seen. To fight against him and serve God, they invented the Crusades, for the pagans were only devils incarnate ; the colour of their skin is a proof vouchsafed by God, who tolerates them, yet suffers thereby and abides His time.

However, towards the middle of the century this morbid anxiety of men's souls began to relax. The pagans of Antiquity, demons in their turn, already inspired less terror ; people dared to read their works, timidly it is true, expurgating the texts, paring them « like nails » and falsifying them unhesitatingly and without thought of harm ; for four centuries at least the practice hardly ceased. All the same, by frequenting men of genius, an education of thought gradually took shape. Through contact with the antique world, a phenomenon similar to that which occurred four centuries later tried to take place then, and partly miscarried. The general mind was not yet ripe, but philosophically, in letters and in art too, a first Renaissance was brought about at the end of the XIth century. Anarchy became weaker ; a small France got together and worked to organize itself, emancipated at last from the protection that came from the other side of the Rhine. For the first time, France became self-conscious and aware of her homogeneity : a notion still vague, but very apparent in the « Songs of heroic deeds » (*Chansons de Geste*) whose composition dates back to that time. On the other side of the Channel, a new England was likewise being created by William the Conqueror (1066).

At the same time the Church, infected by elements foreign to herself, became master of herself again. The reconstitution of the Germanic empire brought about her downfall (962), and the disorder lasted a hundred years; evil-doers obtained the mitre, by buying, conquering or taking it by force with the sole design of oppressing the people ; vices of all sorts were crowned with the mitre. The Holy See had a Pope eleven

years old (Benedict IX, 1033). The crisis was then near its end.

In the middle of the XIth century, all was reformed, and at one stroke ; manners became purer, order once more prevailed and the work of civilization began anew. The movement originated in the monasteries ; the papacy, upheld by the monks, regained its independence and, almost immediately, its power (1058). The bishops henceforth were chosen from among the priests and nominated by the Sovereign Pontiff; the Pope himself was elected by the cardinals.

The task which had been interrupted a century before was resumed to cease no more. A French Pope, Urban II, launched the first Crusade (1095) in order to give employment to armed force and discipline the mind, to unite and amalgamate the West, through faith, better than Charlemagne had done by means of victory.

Another Pope, Hildebrand, a monk of genius from Cluny, strongly upheld the struggle against the German emperor, under the name of Gregory VII, and Rome became the real inspirer of the Christian world ; his beneficial influence is undisputed.

Nevertheless, the Eastern empire fell into decrepitude, and new-born France, whose fame was on the increase, prepared to be in the XIIth century, politically the foremost amongst Christian nations.

Against the southern wall in the « Salle des Thermes » :

Twelve capitals decorated with human figures, animals and foliage ; from the pillars in the nave of the abbey church of St. Germain in the Fields, Paris.

Fourteen capitals and corbels adorned with human figures, curves, and volutes (stone). From the church at Deuil (Seine-et-Oise).

XIIth CENTURY

Whereas the XIth century had been nothing but a painful labour and bringing to birth, the XIIth did realise aspirations ; the former had only wailed, the latter spoke and thought. Abelard was born. The ruthless logic of this Breton upset many ideas then universally admitted, which his reasoning could not acknowledge. The Church grew anxious

and silenced him. Maybe she was right, for philosophers of genius are bad teachers of crowds; they look too high and aim too far, they progress too quickly and their times cannot keep up with them. Being ill-understood they disturb the mind and, at the same time, lead astray the normal evolution which they dreamt of promoting. Had Abelard been heard, the human mind would have skipped over the XIIIth century at one bound, and this would have been a pity. For the time being, those dull and simple-minded generations needed refinement first of all; as became their youth, they needed to feel before learning to argue, as became them in their riper age. It was the task of the XIIth century to provide this juvenile education, and France slowly moved towards the mystic idealism of the XIIth century when, as one might say, the Christian world was to sing and pour out its youthful strains.

Now this education was undertaken by Chivalry, and Chivalry should not be mistaken for Feudalism. The latter is a political organisation, based on a code; a noble *vassal* binds himself to a noble *lord* and declares himself to be the latter's (man) *homme*, hence *homage*. By way of compensation, he receives a *bénéfice* (*fief*), he owes a threefold service, namely : army, court and justice, and his lord owes him aid and protection. Chivalry, on the contrary, is a kind of closed though international brotherhood, where all the members are equal, and into which access is only obtained after a man has been recognised worthy. It confers non-hereditary privileges and imposes duties of honour, fraternity, justice, charity, respect for women and help to the weak. In other words, the Gospel enters into the warrior's life; the Knight is a soldier of Christ, he sets out from the Church and, preaching by his own acts, disciplines brute force which had hitherto reigned alone. The Knights' semi-ecclesiastical character was more emphasized in the special orders which were founded in the XIIth century (the Templars in 1119; the Hospitallers in 1130, and the Teutonics in 1191).

The influence was great. Whilst the laws of Chivalry softened manners, the action of the king purged the country. Louis VI and Louis VII in turn curbed feudalism, and, axe in hand, put their kingdom in order. Suger, as minister to the two kings, rendered such valuable assistance as to earn for himself the well deserved name of « Père de la Patrie ».

This Fatherland developed more and more. Philippe-Auguste already was able to speak as a sovereign and stand forth as such before his vassals, as he did before Frederic Barbarossa and Richard the Lion-Hearted. In the third Crusade (1189), which allowed her to divert and control the turbulent forces of nobility, France took the lead at the head of the other countries.

Artistically, France only derived her inspiration from her neighbours ; nor could she do otherwise, for until a moral formation is realised, how could it bear fruit? France's soul was being fashioned, but the task was not accomplished. After the apostleship of the Gauls came that of the Franks, which had lasted from the time of Clovis and was hardly ended. This new world learnt its art from another ; the Church and the Crusades brought the imperial Byzantine art, and the country copied whatever was shown to it.

What then was shown ? The East, by way of reaction against pagan idolatry, had but recently broken all the statues, therefore it neither could nor would make them again. To carve images in the likeness of sacred persons would seem a profanation and a return to the errors of the past. They only dared to paint miniatures in books, in enamel on the shrines or altars, and in mosaic on the walls. This last process, above all, was pleasing to the eye on account of its sumptuous richness which showed up in the shadows of the basilicas. And yet the figures remained hieratic, for respect forbade them to be humanised. Exactly as they were presented to their naive admirers, so they were copied. But France was already by instinct what she was going to be later on, supremely a people of architects and sculptors; the copying therefore was done in stone. Since designs only were shown them, French sculpture was at first only a design, deeply engraven, but practically without relief. Under the draperies there was no body, for they had been told there was no need for any. However the carvers soon rebelled. The figures were stiff and rigid with a fitting expression of devotion ; they were long, lank and tightly draped in their robes with close-fitting folds, which looked as if they had been dipped in water.

The Art of that period has been called Romanesque, but this is an inappropriate and even unfair denomination. If it may be applied to the southern provinces of France, it no

longer holds good for the art of the Ile de France and the surrounding provinces, for indeed there was a profound difference between the two styles produced north and south of the Loire. The South, which was more latinised and in which remains of Roman statuary existed in large numbers, was happily inspired by it. Even then, it was only a supreme decline of the antique, the end of an agony and the death-knell of something that had been. In the North, it was a beginning, a prophecy, and the cradle of what was to be. France was soon to create her own art, and impart it to the world.

Against the southern wall of the « Salle des Thermes » :

Capitals and fragments of abaci decorated with animals and foliage. First half of XIIth century ; from the choir of the ancient abbey church of St. Geneviève (demolished 1807).

Two capitals coupled and joined together, decorated with fantastic animals and foliage ; XIIth century.

Fragments of a pilaster decorated with beaded ribbons, interlacings and foliage. Middle of XIIth century, from Cluny monastery (Saône-et-Loire).

Fragment of a balustrade, of the same period and origin.

Two coupled capitals decorated with fantastic birds and foliage. Second half of XIIth century ; from the ancient cloister of the abbey church at St. Denis.

Capital decorated with leaves of acanthus, fruits and human heads. Second half of XIIth century ;

Capital, engaged, decorated with foliage. Second half of XIIth century. From the Priory of St. Martin-des-Champs, Paris.

Towards the north-east corner of the « Salle des Thermes », on the right, descending the stairway :

Saint Marcel under a canopy ; a pier from the St. Anne doorway of Notre-Dame de Paris, end of XIIth century.

XIIIth CENTURY

IN spite of the horrors that fanaticism aroused (Crusade of the Albigenses, 1209), and the moral decline observed with indignation by the bishops amongst the lower clergy and monasteries, this century was magnificent. It counts as one of the most stirring and fruitful ones in French history. It saw both national sentiment and national art come to light.

Two great factors marked their birth. At the beginning, under Philippe-Auguste, the battle of Bouvines (1214) finally delivered the country from the threat of a German invasion. This menace, which had ever been present, had weighed on the Gauls from the time of Cæsar. Towards the end of the century, the old dream of the Crusades died out with St. Louis (1270), and the French returned to their own country. France now lives, for she has become self-conscious, and at the same time she creates an art. A revolution was about to take place in the ideas of the Christian world, and a dazzling one too. It was in France that it took shape. The documents which bear this out are Notre-Dame de Paris, the Sainte-Chapelle, and the Cathedral of Reims. Cologne cathedral was only going to be a feeble imitation of Amiens.

In what did this spiritual revival consist? In the days of Greece and Rome, paganism deified the forces of Nature, and all Instincts became gods. The victory of Christanity banished to Hell these ancient divinities, who became devils. In order to suppress the desires of brutal instinct, the new law made sins of them, and Nature was henceforth Satan's own domain.

But it so happened that the most pious, mystic, and idealistic of all the centuries ventured to turn towards Nature which had so long been condemned, in order to admire and love it. It so happened that the century which is reflected in the gentle faces of St. Francis and St. Louis took nature back from the devil in order to restore it to God. Suddenly that century perceived the smile of Nature, which had almost been forgotten since Virgil, and extolled it with tenderness. At the same time, another smile was seen and this was on the face of Woman, who, since her adventure in the earthly Paradise, had remained the worst abettor of the Tempter.

Two smiles after a thousand years' sufferings. Man welcomed and took to himself these sweet flowers, and he made them

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD.

From the Church of Saint-Germain-des-Prés (Paris).

(First half of XIIIth century.)

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD.

Alabaster statue. From the Hospice at Sens.

(French Art, XIVth century.)

both divine by carving statues in their likeness. On the soil which nourished him, he knelt and eagerly gathered the growing grass and flowers, to decorate the walls of his church. With clay from his native land he built up a house for his Saviour, and thenceforward the divinity which thereto had been a terror to him was sweetened with a woman's glance.

The guardian Virgin and her escort of angels, replacing the lowering figures of the XIIth century and smiling for the first time, brought a promise hitherto unknown and a possibility of hope to the misery of the people. The images of saints became human. After being hieratic and almost incorporeal up till then, they deigned to take really human forms, as though to come nearer to us. About them, all the native flora, which had been lovingly carved in native stone, took the place of the Romanesque designs, which, after all, were in this country mere copies from the antique. Orchard and kitchen-garden plants, images of the field that nourishes man and feeds beasts, became sanctified by entering the church. The panels of Rheims look like the pages of a French herbal ; they are pages of prayer, gratitude and adoration also, a peasant's hymn to a fruitful soil, the first hymn which the French people had ever sung in honour of their native land. These flowered panels and XIIIth century capitals are family relics and commemorate a solemn moment in French history, namely, the creation of the Fatherland. At the very same stage in his gradual evolution, the French peasant had discovered both Fatherland and Nature. The divine nature of the one was apparent to him as the consequence of his understanding the other.

How did this affectionate comprehension come to him ? This may be imagined. The Crusades were at an end, after having lasted two centuries. They had cost much, but yielded nothing. Oriental art had been seen and was at first copied. But exile also had been endured beneath a relentless sky, in a yellow desert and amidst a dry death. On the return, the native land appeared delightful. When man found his soil again, he understood that it was not accursed, but on the contrary that it was blessed, and he realized that it was dear to him. In foreign climes, he had been able to admire capitals adorned with carvings of acanthus, and the leaf had pleased him. But a cabbage leaf was still more beautiful than an acanthus leaf ; doubly so even, both for the majestic virtue of its form and for

its nutritive virtue. The clover leaf also is beautiful, being so flexible in the breeze ; besides, it feeds cattle. Man gathered a cabbage and a clover leaf, he weepingly caressed them and fashioned them in stone ; thus Gothic art began.

The modern term « *Gothic art* » is incorrect ; the Middle Ages were more precise in saying « *Opus francigenum* », that is : a work originated in France. The Germans themselves called it so at its birth, and the name was justified, for that particular art was derived from the French intellect ; it marked the zenith of French thought. Not only did it proclaim Faith by aspiring heavenwards, and Hope by its multiplied smiles, but at the same time it symbolised man's gratitude to his Land. This gratitude is apparent in the turrets, flowers, crockets, copings, rose-windows, ribs, arch-springings, and in every stone. The new art joyfully symbolised the union of a thoughtful being with the thing he is made of. By glorifying the soil and that which springs therefrom, that art heralded the coming of a new nation which was already that of the Fatherland.

Likewise on the practical side the XIIIth century possessed initiatives which inaugurated a new era. The Crusades provided a means of contact with the old civilisations of the East. Precious knowledge was gained thereby, together with a desire to be and to do better, a need for progress and a sense of hygiene. Eastern works were brought back to France, an imitation of them was undertaken, and trades were immediately set up ; manufactures were founded and corporations organised. The mixing of the two races had revealed the benefits derived from an exchange of goods and merchandise ; consequently, commerce came into being. The circle of connections and transactions grew, the first bank was created at Provins (1256) ; the first stage-coaches (1278), the Gabelle is first mentioned (1240), and the Customs (1290). Etienne Boileau reorganized the system of corporations and drew up rules for the Parisian trades. The first Royal Library (1236), and foundation of the Sorbonne (1253), Arabic numbers were introduced (1202), and Villehardouin wrote the earliest French prose (1210).

In the political world, the reform was no less important. Through a series of foreign expeditions, the feudal lords fell into debt and were ruined. The king took advantage of this to strengthen his domain and forbid private wars. He superintended and regulated the use of seigniorial coinage. He

abolished judicial duels and replaced them by evidence. Jurisprudence arose in opposition to feudal justice, and gave rise to a sect of jurists who brought to light again texts of the Roman empire. These jurists, by dint of institutes, shook the edifice of feudalism. At the same time, the middle classes bought privileges, lands, and new rights from the impoverished lords. First Parisian municipality (1220) ; first mention of a Parlement (1239) ; Philip III granted a patent of nobility to a silversmith, saying : « The king has cognizance to ennoble a man ». This was a new principle which already lessened the privilege of a caste hitherto closed, and which henceforth was open. The people emerged from gloom, and peasants' names entered into history. But the atrocious misery of the XIVth century hindered the impetus taken by this new life.

In the North-East corner of the hall, on the visitor's right, when descending the steps :

Two fragments of a **Resurrection of the dead** ; high-relief. First half of XIIIth century. From the outer decoration of Notre-Dame de Paris (door called the Last Judgment door, lower portion of spandrel).

The Virgin and Child, statue. First half of XIIIth century. From the abbey of St. Germain des Prés.

Decorative Head, projecting from a moulding. Middle or second half of XIIIth century. From excavations in Boulevard Sébastopol.

The Three Wise Men of the East ; a mutilated group. Second half of XIIIth century. From the outer decoration of Notre-Dame de Paris.

Twelve mutilated statues. Second half of XIIIth century. From the outer decoration of Notre-Dame de Paris, mostly from the St. Etienne door, on the south side of the cathedral. Having been smashed during the revolution, they were removed to rue de la Santé, towards the top of Faubourg St-Jacques, where they served as boundary stones until 1839.

Ten arch springings decorated with foliage. Late

XIIIth century. From the chapel of Cluny College (Paris), destroyed 1859.

In front of the swimming-bath :

An angel, statue. Late XIIIth century. From Poissy abbey (Seine-et-Oise). This figure, a contemporary of, and closely related to, those which adorned the cathedral of Rheims, is inspired by the same spirit and expresses it by the same smile.

Sepulchral stone of Louis and Philippe of Alençon (died about 1275), grandsons of St. Louis. Sculpture in high relief. Last quarter of XIIIth century.

Funeral stone of a French Crusader (Brocard de Charpignie), carved in an antique pillar. (Marble). French art in Cyprus, XIIIth century. From Larnaca.

At further end of the Hall, on the left (six steps down) on the walls of a small vaulted chamber :

Eight Hebrew stelæ, bearing funeral inscriptions. Found in Paris in 1849, between rue de la Harpe and rue Pierre-Sarrazin, on the site of a Jewish cemetery of the XIIIth century.

XIVth CENTURY

SOCIAL transformations hardly fail to bring with them unforeseen drawbacks as well as desired benefits. Not only did the fair hopes of the XIIIth century miscarry in the XIVth, but also the very reasons of its prosperity bred a series of formidable consequences. The spirit changed and history rolled on. Gold made its appearance and superseded declining idealism.

The final failure of the Crusades had left disillusion in its train; the prestige of religious authority suffered thereby at a time when it most needed the restraint provided by that authority. Therefore the moral level sank low, the papacy declined, schisms and licentiousness spread. Christian nations had fought side by side against the Infidel, but when that common enemy no longer existed, they turned against one another (Hundred Years'War). Our incursions into the East had given

us a taste not only for art, but also for luxury. Industries and commerce were in their infancy and the first banking notions had been evolved; but at the same time there were revealed the need for gold and the power of gold.

This power made itself apparent in everything. The successive defeats at Courtrai, Crécy and Poitiers, together with Edward's guns, threw discredit on chivalry. These defeats also showed the necessity for fighting, like the enemy, with new methods, that is to say, with infantry. Now that infantry was mercenary, gold was once more needed to hire it. Whence was it to be obtained? The king tried to centralise power at the expense of feudalism which was daily declining, but pecuniary resources were lacking. Where was the king to find them? The people were not in a position to give anything, for they had been reduced to extreme misery by the continuous pillaging of the English and the Brigands. The only rich possessors were the Church and the Jewish or Lombard brokers. The latter could easily be despoiled by means of torture and the debasement of the coinage, which affected them much more than it did the lower classes. The property of the Church was indeed more closely guarded; but the covetousness which it bred was all the stronger and it obsessed all the century. Early in the XIVth century, Philip the Fair ventured a first outrage by despoiling the Templars. Charles V, through the agency of Duguesclin, dared a more serious one when he ransomed the Pope himself, and the hero of a popular ballad is made to say that he would accept « no money but that coming from the Clergy ».

Thus the Church was no longer respected, either by kings or princes, or by the people who followed the examples set by those above them, or by the Church itself. In 1303 the very Pope himself was scoffed at, humiliated and cudgelled like a serf. Dante, who was pious but a Ghibelline, cast this Pope, Boniface VIII, into his Inferno. Six years later, Boniface's successor was « pent up » in Avignon and held as hostage by the king, who used him for his own ends. When the Pope and the king of France launched the idea of a new Crusade, it was only a contrivance meant to extort the people's money and to turn it to their own profit. Then all at once Christianity found that it had two sovereign pontiffs who were antagonists and harassed each other with insults and denunciations. Meanwhile the Papal

court at Avignon fell into a condition which Petrarch has described with horror. « A sink of all vices and all villainies where the hope of a future life is considered as a vain illusion and Jesus-Christ classed as a childish invention. Chastity is esteemed nonsense, and prostitution leads to celebrity. I pass over in silence simony, avarice, insolence and cruelty. » Pope Gregory XII in his bull *Admonet nos*, and Jean Gerson (the probable author of the *Imitation*), likewise acquaint us with the amazing immorality of the French and Italian monasteries and nunneries. The people revolt and grow restless. Protestantism dawns in England with Wycliffe (1370), in Germany and Italy with the communistic institution of the *Petits Frères*, whilst revolution itself dawns in Rome with Rienzi's Republic (1347) and in France with the Jacquerie (1358).

The respect for nobility too is on the point of expiring. They had allowed themselves to be beaten by the uncouth English and Flemish. On the morrow of Crécy (1346), the Continuator of Nangis jeered at the luxury of the lords, laughed at their long tight-fitting hose and short tunics! He made bold to write that these garments were « just the thing for fleeing from the enemy ». In the cottages, it was repeatedly said that the castle and its retinue cost very dear and were of very little use to the middle class man who, after all, paid them to defend him. It was constantly said also that these noblemen in their splendid armour were not invincible, since a host of rustics armed with knives had been able to kill them off quite easily like mere cattle. Could we not do the same and rid ourselves once for all of these our masters, the people wondered? The Jacques revolted, massacred, and burnt. « It was thought », Froissard says, « that the whole of gentility was about to perish ».

If they did not, they were not much better off, for they only escaped destruction to sink into turpitude. It was the same all over Europe; that which did not fall, tottered. Everywhere faith was blighted. In the upper classes, crime triumphed and vice spread; the decision of princes was dictated by their own personal interests. In the lower classes misery was rampant; famine and plague, the double consequence of those endless wars, had decimated the panic-stricken population (the sect of the *Flagellants*, 1349). A spirit of madness took possession of ideas as well as manners. To what could they cling? The world was empty and the cen-

tury, which had started with a swindling king, symbolically ended with a mad one. Thus, after the acme reached by the XIIth century, the XIVth was, strictly speaking, an age of dislocation, just as the XVth became one of reconstitution.

Is it astonishing, therefore, that art should then have lost in grandeur and majesty what the soul had lost in nobility, and morality in aspiration ? Art originates in the people, whose ideal it formulates. When the people possess a faith of any kind, the work they build up is a work of genius. The day on which that ideal dies, talent only remains. Genius loves the joy of effort above all ; but talent only aspires to the joy of results. Therefore whereas the XIIIth century had invented, the XIVth was content with imitating and brought art down to its own level. XIIIth century art worked for the people and its creations decorated the City, whereas XIVth century art worked for the rich and its efforts decorated furniture. Besides, it suffered too much, and at too many crises by far, to be able to give itself up to great works ; when it did make the attempt, it showed technique in place of emotion. It was happier in the minor arts, for it was a subtle and a searching age. Its predecessors had been poets in stonework ; but itself was a goldsmith.

In the South East corner of the hall, on the left of the visitor who descends the staircase :

Adam, statue. Beginning of XIVth century ; from the exterior ornamentation of Notre-Dame de Paris, (balustrade of the Gallery of the Virgin at the foot of the North Tower.) A companion statue of Eve has been destroyed. The present one itself shows numerous restorations.

Five statues of apostles. Executed by Robert of Launoy and William of Nourriche between 1319 and 1327. From the church of St. Jacques-l'Hôpital, Paris.

Foundation stone of the Celestines' Church, Paris (laid by Charles V, May 26th 1365).

Close by, in the small vaulted chamber :

Saint Catherine. Statue in stone. Lorraine art, XIVth century. From Vaucouleurs. (St. Catherine being one of the two saints whose voices Joan of Arc heard, it may

be supposed that the heroine knew this statue, at Vau couleurs, and prayed before it).

Chains for obstructing the streets.

OBSTRUCTION CHAINS

Chains, specially set apart for this purpose, were stretched across the streets whenever a public danger was feared ; they were useful above all against cavalry raids, for they succeeded in holding up the enemy in cases of surprise. During the reign of Francis I, when the English were approaching Paris (1532), the aldermen ordered the chains to be fixed up.

On the walls of the swimming-bath :

Funeral stone engraved with effigies of Chantemelle de Flavacourt (died 1352) and Isabelle de Hargeulieu. Middle of XIVth century. From the chapel at Flavacourt (Oise).

Funeral stone engraved with the effigy of Simon de Gillans, abbot of the Ile Barbe (died 1349). Middle of XIVth century. From the chapel of Cluny College, Paris.

Funeral stone engraved with the effigy of Jean de Sathanay, abbot of Ferrières (died 1360). Second half of XIVth century. Same origin.

The visitor, having ascended the stairs of the Thermes, crosses Room IX obliquely and finds, in the north east corner, a door which gives access to the

B. — PORCH UNDER THE CHAPEL

XVth CENTURY

LONG wars have never failed to produce a lowering in the moral level. The period we now reach once more testifies to this truth which is proved by reasoning and confirmed by a simple statement of the facts.

The Hundred Years'War, wherein it seemed that the anxiety of the previous century would never end, broke out twenty years before the XVth century had opened, with the Sicilian

Vespers and Philip the Fair. It was prolonged for twenty years after the close of that century. This long drawn-out agony lasted over the disasters of invasion, civil war and plunderings. It witnessed the atrocious misery of the people, the immorality of the monasteries (Bull *Admonet nos*, 1404), the faults of the Church (John Huss burnt in 1414), the vices and crimes of the princes, such as adulteries, incests, pillages and murders, (Louis d'Orléans was foully murdered in 1407, and Jean-sans-Peur in 1419), together with the red màdness of parties (Cabochiens, 1413). Finally the pitiful defeat at Agincourt tolled the double knell of Feudalism and Chivalry, and at the same time, one might say, the knell of France herself. It was tolled five years later by the loathsome treaty of Troyes (1420) where by mad King Charles VI and his German queen (Isabeau of Bavaria) completed the total ruin. They made an English province a dowry of the Fatherland that was trying to take shape. The king of England was quite legally at home on French land. The Dauphin was disinherited, disowned, and proclaimed to be an illegitimate son, by his very mother and in an authentic deed drawn up before a lawyer. He was simply dismissed and, at the same time, his rival was fully recognized. Henry V of England no longer was a foreigner in France, but the head of a French party. On his side stood half the nobility, the Church, the prelates fighting, and the University proving for him. Compared with him Charles VII was only the ludicrous « King of Bourges ».

But the mass of the peasantry and middle classes understood nothing at all about such subtleties; nor did they care about them. They wanted their country and their king, and if their right to them be disputed, then they would create them. The rehabilitation of Charles VII and the awakening of France were the work of the people who for the first time gave evidence of themselves. It was almost a symbol; France embodied in two plebeian persons appeared, rose up and saved the country. A shepherd girl, Joan of Arc, gave her blood; Jacques Cœur, a merchant, gave his gold. Gold and blood, the double offering of the people. Both saviours perished at their task. Nobility wreaked its vengeance on the latter, even as the clergy, had sacrificed the former, and the king forsook them both (Joan of Arc, 1431; Jacques Cœur, 1452). But the English were driven off at the very moment when they seemed to triumph, after a war

which lasted more than one hundred years (1318-1453), and the people entered into History with a freshly born sentiment in them, viz., love of the Fatherland.

This was a dawn ; the Middle Ages were over and a new era had begun (1453). Besides, in that same year, a momentous event had taken place in a far-off land, and the time-old ambition of the Middle Ages was ruined at one stroke. Not only had they failed to deliver the Holy Land, but on the contrary the Infidels had taken back Constantinople and the Turkish empire established itself on the ruins of the Byzantine empire.

From that time onwards religion changed both its form and its object. The Christians who had fought alongside one another for the Faith now fought against each other for dogma. At the same time that the task undertaken by the Crusades came to naught, a dominating logic caused the new era to be inaugurated by an invention which was going to emancipate the mind and change the soul of the world. This was *Printing*. The first book was published in 1457.

The middle of the xvth century was an imposing period, less admirable than the Renaissance was going to be, but nevertheless exciting. The former yielded the harvest, and the latter showed the blossom. It brings to joyfully. After so many evils, France now delivered, dared to set to work ; the bands of highwaymen, fleecers, and rogues, no less terrible than the English, were like them exterminated, and disappeared. The security of the highroads, which had been lost for eleven centuries, came into being again and astonished the people. Desolated countrysides were once more cultivated. French commerce, which the xiiith century had tried to invent and which Jacques Cœur at length realised, took heart again and pushed forward; finances were organized. To replace its feudal defenders, the country now maintained a standing army, its first one, and this was paid by the country itself ; (*Francs archers*). It also enjoyed a kind of religious autonomy, wrested from the Pope by the « *Pragmatic sanction* » (1438), which restrained the pecuniary levies of the Holy See and caused the publication of papal bulls to be submitted first to the king for approval.

The struggle that Royalty had waged against Feudalism for four centuries and a half, was now morally ended, since the people had become self-conscious and wedded to the

idea of royalty. However, in order to crown the victory, there was still work to be done, for the feudal lords, scenting danger, furiously defended their last hours of power and life. When Louis XI succeeded his father (1461), he appeared extremely weak compared to the might of the princes and barons, but he was better armed than any king before him, for he possessed a nation. Relying on this nation, he cared for it, used it and even exploited it to his own ends, although for the good of all, when he gathered to himself all the provinces with the greediness of a miser. The formidable seigneur, Charles the Fearless, who was his antagonist, represented the old régime, and against him the king brought to bear the commonalty of Flanders, Switzerland and Lorraine. Finally this enemy of the king fell at Nancy, crushed under the excess of his own power (1477). The evil which had been wrought to Royalty by the incapacity of a worthy man (Jean the Good, who divided the country between his four sons, 1364) was finally repaired by the genius of an unscrupulous man, and France reconstituted herself. To gain his own ends, Louis XI stopped at nothing, not even perfidies, mean actions, cowardices, treacheries, false judgments, false oaths, tortures and poisons, against friends and enemies alike ; but in twenty years he had secured in turn Burgundy, Franche-Comté, Picardy, Artois, Provence, Maine and Anjou. He coveted Brittany, but only obtained possession of it at a later date, through his worthy daughter, Anne de Beaujeu, who continued her father's task and married her younger brother to the heiress of the dukes of Brittany. Indeed, in order that this dowry should not pass out of their possession, two kings of France married, in succession, the same lady (Anne of Brittany, married to Charles VIII in 1491, and to Louis XII in 1498).

At the end of the xvth century the general trend of French political history became clear ; the unity of France, a task undertaken by their kings since the year 1000, was accomplished, and royalty absolute occupied a throne which was the tomb of feudalism. When Richelieu comes into power and has got rid of the few remaining stubborn chiefs, Louis XIV will at last be able to be the potentate whom the Revolution will suppress in order to supplant him by the People as king.

For the moment, at any rate, this royalty, whose power was so new, and which was rendered insatiable by the recently

acquired habit of conquering, sought for more provinces abroad since it had joined together all those at home. Thus, attempts were made against Italy by Charles VIII and Louis XII. It was a vain struggle, but it established contact with the outside world ; for the French set art to seek a crown and brought home an art. That art dazzled them, they displaced their own for it, which was a pity; they brought back manners and doctrines as well — and that was worse.

Strictly speaking, the immorality of the Italian courts hardly caused surprise, for Louis XI was a worthy contemporary of the Sforzas, the Medicis, and the Borgias, and if he nowadays appears monstrous he was normal in his own age. The level of conscience which had sunk low at the beginning of the XIVth century, remained unchanged. The depravity and luxury of the upper classes affected the middle classes in towns. As for the rural populations, they had been demoralised by a life which had too long been precarious. The example set by those above and the perpetual uncertainty of the morrow, together with the incessant peril of life and belongings, had gradually sapped the fundamental principles of family, marriage and property, and every idea of duty and right. Confidence was dead, and faith, which itself means confidence, was decreasing. Scepticism arose, and irony, which is instinctive in the French race, was given full rein.

Logically, the works of art should be and were resultant upon this state of things ; a spirit of observation and sociability came into vogue. Just as the XIIIth century had looked towards Man, so the present one turned to the Individual ; every picture was a portrait, and every generality was the outcome of an allusion. The story told in the evening by the fireside, set in motion recognizable personalities ; the sense of criticism developed and satire was evolved. The farcical comedy of *Maître Patelin* dates from the beginning of the century, and Villon was born in the same year that Joan of Arc died.

Daring sometimes went further and was aimed at those in power, who then grew angry; however, the Church was already obliged to tolerate a great deal. Against her rose the symbolical figures of Don Juan, a revolt of the flesh, and of Faust, a revolt of the spirit. These two proclaimed the workings of a double revolution which became religious in the XVIth century, and social in the XVIIIth.

On the pillar in the middle of the porch :

Capital decorated with two shields, bearing a savage and an angel in the form of supports, a shell (St. James), an abbot's crozier and Charles VIII's cypher (crowned K). These emblems together allow the date of the monument to be fixed and indicate that it was built whilst Jacques d'Amboise was abbot of Cluny, and during the reign of Charles VIII (about 1490).

Against the walls :

Two lamp brackets decorated with music playing angels. French art, first quarter of XVth century. From the chapel of Notre-Dame de Bonne-Nouvelle in the church of the Commanderie of Saint-Jean-de-Latran, demolished in 1860.

Mutilated reredos representing (from left to right) the Annunciation, Nativity, Calvary, Resurrection and Pentecost. French art, 1441. From the Chapel of the Friars at Provins.

Virgin of Pity, group in alabaster. English art, XVth century.

Ecce homo, statue. Champagne school ; end of XVth century.

The Crowning of the Virgin, group of statuary. Lorraine art, about 1500. From Combles (Meuse).

Reredos of the Resurrection. French art, first half of XVIth century. From a church in Troyes.

C. — ARCADES

To the west of the Great Courtyard.

XVIth CENTURY

It may be considered that the Italian Renaissance, which was brought to France by the wars of Charles VIII Louis XII and Francis I, and established by the Medicis, was in reality less profitable than injurious to French genius, since it replaced the free development of national art by foreign influences.

We have seen how in the XIIIth century, French sculpture and architecture inspired the Christian world. The evolution which began in the days of Saint Louis was normally followed up, and in the XVth century France affirmed the essential characteristics of its race both by its works and deeds. France then became acquainted with masterpieces from Italy, a country educated by the discovery of antique art. The French were so deeply impressed by these masterpieces as to adopt them, and by these imitations individuality was ruined. They lost thereby in style what was acquired in technique ; half a century was gained, but this sudden acceleration provoked a long wandering, and they were obliged to await a second renaissance. It was a French one, this time, and the artists of genius who were at last liberated from Italianism, were true scions of the lineage of the old « Image carvers ».

Not only did the French sacrifice, in this adventure, the sense and use of their personal gifts and ethnical character, but they also allowed themselves to be robbed of a past glory which was unquestionably their own.

Herein lies the origin of an injustice which has lasted four hundred years and which still continues, namely that of giving the name « Gothic art » to the XIIIth century French creations. This false denomination, which German professors utilise to-day for the purpose of honouring German genius, only appears to have been a studio jest. During the lengthy discord between the Guelfs and Ghibellines the word « Gothic » had constituted, in Italy, a popular insult and was a synonym of « barbarian ». The Renaissance artists, who despised those of the Middle Ages, revived the term to apply it, in derision, to their predecessors whom they considered as barbarians, and the term « Gothic art » first appeared in Raphael's report to Pope Julius II. At that time, two schools of art were engaged in dispute; on the one hand, the followers of the primitive artists, who grouped themselves round Giotto and were considered out of date ; they were sarcastically called « giottic », which soon deteriorated into « gothic ». On the other hand was the new school which pretended to revive antique art and sought for inspiration in excavations (*grottos*) ; their adversaries dubbed them « grotesques ». Thus the two epithets *gothic* and *grotesque* were originally just two contrary terms of abuse.

During the whole of the XVIth century, this scorn of the

Middle Ages became general and brought forth its results. Francis I, who Italianised everything, did not hesitate to melt down French works of art in order to obtain metal. In 1523, he destroyed the golden statuettes of Laon, and the silver gateway of Saint-Martin of Tours, a gift of Louis XI; in 1524, some Norman bronzes were turned into cannons. The Limousin *champlevé* enamels frequently shared the same fate.

The wars of Francis I (Marignan 1515, Pavia 1525, Peace of Cambrai 1529), his twofold struggle against Charles-Quint and Henry VIII exhausted the Treasury. By the Treaty of Crespy (1544) the king of France was obliged to give up Milan, Naples, Flanders and even Artois; in 1547 he died. Previously, however, and in order to restore his finances and arrange alliances (1533), he had married his son to Catherine de Medicis who was heiress to the Florentine bankers, a prince's daughter and niece to the Pope. With this Dauphiness and her retinue, the invasion of foreign art received a further impetus; the mentality and manners of the Italian courts first took possession of the Louvre, and then of France itself. The morals of the people certainly did not gain anything thereby. In addition, this intrusion of an exotic element proved a terrible contribution towards embittering religious discords. The Reformation, against which Francis I had fought with ferocious, but powerless vigour, gained more and more numerous adherents; it had already conquered entire provinces, and the religious party daily tended to become as important as a political party. To crown all, the rival ambitions of two princely houses (Guises and Bourbons) which grew more powerful as the royal family declined, very soon imperilled the Valois dynasty. The wily Catherine was a woman capable of using the worst means possible to defend the crown for her sons. This complex quarrel brought crimes, massacres and civil wars in its train throughout the second half of the XVIth century.

However, Henry II's reign had the honour of finally securing the French frontiers against those periodical invaders of the French soil, the English and the Germans; in 1552 and 1553, France recovered the Three Bishoprics (Metz, Toul, and Verdun), places indispensable to her security in the East. In 1558, she won back Calais, which England had held for two hundred years; and the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559) ratified this fourfold boon. In the meanwhile, Charles-Quint had abdicated (1555), and his son Philip II had married the French

king's daughter (1559). Was quietness to be obtained at last? After the Italian wars, the struggle against Germany and Spain, and after the English had finally been driven out, foreign fighting was over; but civil strife broke out and continued throughout the three successive reigns of Henry II's sons.

At the festivities given in honour of the marriage of his daughter Elizabeth to the king of Spain, Henry II was accidentally killed (1559). Francis II, then six years of age, succeeded him; he married Mary Stuart and died at the end of a year during which the conspiracy of Amboise took place (1560), a severe alarm which foreshadowed the wars of religion. Charles IX's reign saw three of these; then came the massacre of St. Bartholomew (1572) which brought about a fourth war, whereupon a fifth immediately followed. Henry II's reign (1576-1589) opened with the Edict of Beaulieu which granted liberty of worship to the Protestants, together with places of security. But the Catholics became indignant and founded the *Holy League*, which was upheld by Spain and which the astute Henry de Guise relied upon in order to accede to the throne he coveted. Then the fratricide wars were resumed : (sixth, seventh, eighth). Henry III thought he would get rid of difficulties by having Henry de Guise assassinated (1588), but he was murdered in his turn (1589). The Valois dynasty was extinct; that of the Bourbons started with Henry IV, king of Navarre and the head of the Huguenots. The victory at Arques (1589) and that of Ivry (1590) followed by Henry's abjuration (1593) gave him Paris. — « Paris is well worth a mass. » The Edict of Nantes (1598) which finally secured what the Edict of Beaulieu had tried to obtain twelve years earlier, at last brought the long sought-for peace and the Protestants henceforth enjoyed equal rights with the Catholics.

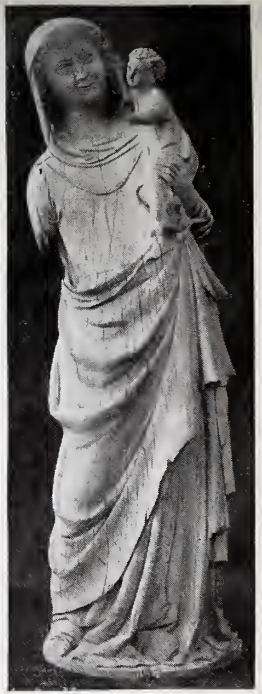
The XVIth century was ended, politically, two years before its close. Æsthetically, a decline was already evident; under Henry III purity of taste was spoilt by excessive refinements, and art became effeminate at the same time as manners. Simultaneously, and by way of reaction, calvinistic authority asserted its disdain for form, and the civil wars, whose fury destroyed everything, tended to cause respect for the beautiful to be obliterated.

Indeed, this frenzy was a revealing symptom of the move ment then prevalent, but which deviated, for the worship of

Photo Braun

THE VIRGIN.
French ivory carving.
(XIIIth century.)

THE PRESENTATION AT THE TEMPLE.
Marble group. *(XIVth century.)*



THE VIRGIN.
Ivory carving.
(XIVth century.)

LEAF OF A DIPTYCH.
Ivory panel.

N.-D. DES ARDENTS.
Wooden statue.

THE VIRGIN OF BREUIL.
(Troyes school. About 1520.)

DECORATIVE PANEL.
(Wood; about 1510.)

plastic beauty gave place to a passion for ideas. Soon the idea was everything. Printing became general, and a literary century succeeded an artistic one. The century which was then ending, doubly characterised as it was by the delicacy of its works and the atrocity of its actions, had won the liberty of thought. Formerly, Francis I, « the father of letters » hanged and burned the emancipators (Etienne Dolet, 1546) ; Rabelais only avoided the pyre because he gave himself a drunkard's airs. For the moment, the mind triumphed through literature, and reform infused itself everywhere. A new world emerged after the throes of this so-called « Renaissance », which in France, was a spiritual birth.

Behind the arcades, on a small column :

Funeral genius, marble statue by Germain Pilon; carved about 1560. This figure was intended for the tomb of Francis I, but was not used on account of the modifications in the general arrangement of the monument.

Against the Roman wall :

Diana, marble bas-relief. Franco-Italian art, middle of XVIth century.

The Adoration of the Magi, bas-relief of stone, end of XVIth century. From the chapel of the château of Anet.

Two gargoyles and a capital, from the Palace of the Tuileries built by Philibert Delorme from 1564 to 1570.

Ten masks executed after the designs of Androuet Du Cerceau, end of XVIth century and beginning of XVIIth From the ornamentation of the Pont-Neuf.

XVIIth CENTURY

ITALIAN influence invaded France at the beginning of the XVIth century, and Spanish influence at its close.

Spain was greatly enriched by the discovery of the Americas and at the same time its political authority was reinforced by the alliance with the Hapsburg family when Charles V was king and emperor. Finally, during the wars of religion, Spain had become the real centre of Roman Catholic resistance against

the ideas of the Reformation. Thus she had the threefold prestige of a financial, military and religious power, and these three elements of her force account for the action which she exercised on European manners in the time of Philippe II. France was greatly affected thereby.

But this influence was not the only one at work in France, for at the same time another showed itself and was no less efficacious. Whilst the Roman Catholic party became imbued with Castilian severity, the Huguenot party adhered to calvinistic austerity, so that these two opposite factors simultaneously worked to bring about a reaction in French tastes, ideas and acts. After the gallant and bloody orgy of the XVIth century, the new one wished for earnestness.

Morally, it possessed rare nobility. The excessive stiffness that Spain and Geneva proposed to France as models, were too incompatible with her lively character to allow this double contagion to deform her in a deep or lasting manner ; so the French took therefrom just what was necessary to be ennobled without lapsing into rigidity.

To begin with, Henry IV devoted himself to the hard task of restoring his finances and royal authority, which were both much compromised by the last of the Valois. With him commenced an era of centralisation, and henceforward the king with his Parlement was to be everything. Politics and art also, became monarchic, and from Richelieu to Louis XIV our social conception tended towards greatness, and our artistic aspirations were logically imbued with the same spirit. Our æsthetics grew heavy. Being taken up with stateliness rather than gracefulness, anxious above all to remain faultless, and repudiating anything fanciful, art moved towards pompousness and finally wore a wig as the king did. Later on, the period was justly called classic; it was the one which codified vocabulary and orthography, grammar and prose, and founded Academies. Henry IV avoided wars as much as he could; he restrained luxury, reduced his court, revived agriculture, traced out roads and dug canals, the arteries of national life. Sully looked after finance. The peasantry breathed freely, and the middle class grew fat. France worked and sent her sons to colonise Canada, a country which became an American France (1608). But religious malice had not disarmed ; by its agency a knife was put into Ravaillac's hand, and the beneficent king was murdered in the street (1610).

Immediately intrigues and waste began again. Under the regency of Marie de Medici, the real sovereign was Concini, an Italian adventurer. He was got rid of by assassination (1617). A revival of XVIth century manners was threatening and, with them, new wars of Religion. Richelieu saved the French by wielding the power firmly from 1624 to 1642, as well against the rebel Protestants as against the turbulent nobility. He was the inexorable master of all home affairs, and dealt with foreign matters as became a clever politician. Under his efforts, Austria lost her ally, Spain, a country then in decline ; the Spaniards were defeated and driven out of Picardy. When Richelieu died, Austria was crushed and France enriched by four provinces : Artois, Roussillon, Lorraine and Alsace. Had he only lived a few years longer, he would have completed the twofold task that Louis XI had dreamed of and undertaken, namely; the unification of the French State and the restitution of its natural frontiers.

But dangerous ferments still existed, and Louis XIII died immediately after his minister (1643). Louis XIV was only five years old, and the new regency brought about a fresh reaction. The Queen Mother, Anne of Austria, appointed as minister, Mazarin, a wily disciple of Richelieu, who obtained the peace of Westphalia (1648), by means of which the Three Bishoprics (Metz, Toul, and Verdun) and Alsace were finally handed over to France. The treaty of the Pyrenees (1659) ratified the annexation of Artois and Roussillon, which had been conquered by Richelieu. A supreme attempt at raising internal rebellions (the Fronde, 1649-1652), was fortunately subdued. In order to enforce peace, the ingenious minister succeeded in bringing about the marriage of the young monarch with the Spanish Infanta Marie-Thérèse. When Mazarin died in 1661, he left royalty powerful enough to enable Louis XIV, then twenty-three years old, to say : « The State ? I am the State. »

Louis continued to assert this throughout his reign. He wanted to be the unique master in his own country, and the strongest abroad. This ambition caused unending wars which exhausted the country ; he claimed the Netherlands as a dowry for his wife (1667-1668) ; he attacked Holland, crossed the Rhine (1672), gained possession of Franche-Comté by the peace of Nimègue (1678), and humbled dukes, kings, the Doge and the Pope. When he was at the zenith of his power and

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glory, France, impoverished though she was, stood foremost amongst European nations.

It was then that the Great King committed the most disastrous fault in French history, a fault which instantly ruined the country and the outcome of which is felt to the present day ; he revoked the edict of Nantes (1685). The Protestants, to whom Henry IV's Edict had granted freedom to exercise their worship, were massacred, harassed or banished to foreign lands in masses. As they made up the most industrious part of the population, they took away with them the elements of national prosperity, their trades and secrets, their active genius, and their hatred too, They enriched Germany, Switzerland and England with those industries whereof France was deprived. They changed Berlin from a small market town to a metropolis which they inspired with their ingenuity and undying ill-will. On account of the unforeseen but infinite results which were its outcome, that act will probably be looked upon in the future as the most important incident in the reign.

William of Orange, king of England and a descendant of Coligny, immediately took advantage of this to form against France the League of Augsbourg which pitted the whole of Europe against her (1688-1697) ; peace of Ryswick. But Louis XIV now wanted Spain, and the war of the Spanish Succession broke out (1700) ; also a new coalition of Europe (the Grand Alliance). This afforded the English the opportunity of seizing Gibraltar (1704). The French people were exhausted, the fleet had been sunk, industry was decapitated, and the peasants were dying from hunger.

Thus ended, in a sinister decline laden with threatening dangers, an age that had been so full of greatness. Louis XIV had erected magnificent monuments and grouped around him great men who shed splendour on his reign and spread abroad the glory of French genius. Politically, he achieved the work of Louis XI and Richelieu by subduing the nobility. The heirs of the feudal world were henceforth but a mere gathering of courtiers around the sovereign. Deification. The King was absolute master; but in the streets and countryside the people who had been drained dry and paid for everything, began to fret and grumble, brains were seething, and the future storm was brewing.

The Capetians' work was done; their rôle therefore was

ended. Since the XIth century they had worked to build up France and consolidate their own crown; now that the double task was accomplished, they could vanish. The next century deposed them. This manner of things is inherent not in human ingratitude, but in the inexorable logic which universally presides over all forms of life. When a force has yielded all it can, and when it no longer produces anything, it must give way.

Under the arcades :

Funeral monument for the heart of Paul de Gondi, Cardinal de Retz (died 1679). From the chapel of the Convent of the Filles-du-Calvaire, Paris.

Funeral monument of Jacques Guigou, lord of Varatre (died 1688), from the church of St. Roch, Paris.

D. — VAULTED PASSAGE

Leading from the courtyard to the garden :

Woodwork panelling from the church of Villeron (Seine-et-Oise) French art, beginning of XVIth century.

Decorative fragments from the Château of Bonnivet, in Poitou, Franco-Italian art, about 1520.

BONNIVET

Bonnivet (Guillaume Gouffier, lord of Bonnivet) a Poitevin gentleman, celebrated for his amorous adventures (which are related by Brantôme and the Queen of Navarre) is no less famous for the disasters which he caused. He was the intimate friend of Francis I, to whom he owed his fortune and by whom he was promoted chief-admiral of France. « Women made everything », says Tavannes, « even generals and captains ». Through his foolish vainglory this favorite brought about the defeat at Pavia (1525) which cost France so dear. In despair, he courageously sought his death in the battle. The castle which he was then building remained unfinished ; and « Bonnivet's house » is still a local saying current in Poitou to describe an undertaking which is not likely to be completed.

E. — THE GARDEN

On leaving the arch :

Entrance door to a house in the rue du Foin St. Jacques, Paris. Middle of XVIth century.

In the alley :

Door of the chapel of the Virgin, built by the architect Pierre of Montereau (died 1267) in the enclosure of the Abbey of St. Germain des Prés, Paris. Middle of XIIIth century. The chapel was demolished in 1802.

On the lawns :

Gargoyles and capitals. Fragments of architecture from various demolished monuments. French art, XIIIth to XVIth century.

GARGOYLES

It should not be forgotten that, throughout the Middle Ages, art preserved an almost exclusively religious character, being, so to speak, merely a homage to piety. Apart from a few rare objects which were destined to the king's use, works of art only assumed a lay character towards the end of the XIVth century, which was accentuated in the XVth. Even at that time, everything connected with public worship obeyed laws which the Church reserved the right to prescribe ; not only did the *ymagiers* (image carvers) work to order, but their works were carefully controlled. When we nowadays think that the artists have taken liberties or ventured daring innovations, these are only apparent, and could only find expression because they were duly authorised. The caustic spirit evident in some figures, and perceptible above all in the gargoyles of the XVth century should not be taken as a proof to the contrary, for the licentious character of these pieces was tolerated and limited, as a relaxation not meant to overstep some pre-established plan. This was the sculptural counterpart of what *farces* and *soties* were in literature. They were played under the control of the Church. The festival of the *Pape des fous* (Pope of madmen) was not only a survival of

the ancient Saturnalia, but was also meant to grant free scope for one day to the caustic instincts of the race, and let them run riot.

Against the walls of the hotel :

Principal doorway of Bayeux College, Paris. Beginning of XIVth century.

Western door of St. Benoit's church, Paris. First half of XVIth century.

Doorway of the monastery of the Benedictines at Argenteuil. Beginning of XIIIth century.

THE MONASTIC ORDERS

The first monasteries established in Gaul date from the IVth century and continued the work of christianisation. Later on (about 530) these independent monks grouped themselves under the rule of Saint-Benedict, who prescribed a rotation of intellectual and manual labour, and these Benedictines founded the first schools, which Charlemagne encouraged (800). In the XIth century these monks were the only persons who cultivated thought and virtue ; with them merit alone was recognised. They constituted in the country, in opposition to feudalism and the secular clergy, a veritable republic in which positions and honours were obtained by election and not by right of birth. It was a republic on hierarchical lines which knew how to promote its elect, from whatever class they came, to the high rank of an abbot or the absolute power of a pope. These Benedictines immediately grew excessively rich and acquired enormous authority (Abbeys of Cluny, Citeaux, Clairvaux). The resulting pomp and pride demanded some necessary reaction ; this was undertaken by the idealism of the XIIIth century, from its outset. In fact, new orders made their appearance, which remained voluntarily poor : they refused to possess anything whatsoever, and lived on alms, to wit, the *Franciscans,* instituted in 1215 by the Italian saint, Francis of Assisi; the *Dominicans,* in 1216 by the Spanish saint, Dominic; the *Carmelites,* and the *Augustinians.* These four orders of mendicant friars worked to reform the world by word of mouth; later on, the Dominicans started catechizing through fire. In 1229, Innocent III issued a bull founding the Inquisition,

and entrusted it to their charge. It stained with blood the south of Europe, but France was averse to this dismal demon; racial instinct saved her from the Inquisition, while in Spain it established a reign of terror which lasted for centuries. However, the excesses of this repressive force provoked yet another reaction which the *Jesuits* brought about. (Ignatius of Loyola, 1540). With affability, these newcomers made themselves the *directors* of the world. They suggested a medium arrangement between the Reformation which threatened to carry reason too far, and the Dominicans who held it in check; this arrangement was based on the idea that imagination may serve as an outlet for effervescent thoughts; therefore let full scope be given to our dreams, and keep the remainder safe. Their obstinate wish to dominate the world led to their ardent intermingling with political intrigues, and the temporal power of the sovereigns was compelled, on many occasions, to bring expulsion and other measures to bear upon them.

These religious orders generally had an international character, but their subdivisions often bore a particular name in different countries. Thus in France, the *Jacobins* were Dominicans; the *Recollets*, *Capucins* and *Cordeliers*, were Franciscans.

The high altar from the Church of St. Pierre of Martinique, destroyed by the volcanic eruption of May 8th 1902.

In the garden of the Thermes :

Tomb of a chieftain. Prehistoric period. Found at Varenne-Saint-Hilaire (Seine).

Flagstones of sandstone, from a Roman road, to the south of Lutèce. (Found in Paris, May 1842, November 1913, and February 1921, rue du Petit-Pont and rue Saint-Jacques, at a depth of 1 m. 20).

SECOND PART

DOMESTIC ARTS AND MANNERS

Domestic arts and Manners

It may be considered that, as a rule, furniture is inspired by monumental art; in every age, the style of the furniture reproduces that of the architecture, on a smaller scale. At no time has this similarity been more apparent than during the Gothic period. A cathedra was a sort of diminutive cathedral; the panels of a side-board recalled the rose-windows of a church and the pointed arches of a doorway, and in the same way, ivory and silver work, enamels, etc, copied types of monumental art and reproduced its style. Consequently, furniture is chronologically of a later date than the monuments; moreover, the designs and *stencilled* drawings which served as models in workshops were handed down from generation to generation and perpetuated antique forms. Therefore it is not at all a rare thing to find, in any one century, figures or pieces of furniture the character of which recalls that of periods already gone by, or still connects the style of the present with that of the past.

GROUND FLOOR

Room 1 — Vestibule

Backs of stalls from the château of Gaillon (?). French art, first quarter of XVIth century.

Choir ornaments, from a church in Picardy. French art, beginning of XVIth century.

Tapestries. French and Flemish, end of XVth century and beginning of XVIth century.

Room II — Footwear

In a flat glass-case, in the left corner of the room :

Soles of Roman caligæ (sandalled shoes) found in the Rhine.

Copt shoes of the IIIrd and IVth centuries, from excavations made at Akmin and Antinoe (Egypt).

To the left and right of the fireplace, in two flat glass-cases :

Shoes of the XVth and XVIth centuries.

Shoes formerly the property of Catherine de' Medici, Henri de Montmorency, Pope Clement XIV, the Princess of Lamballe, Napoleon I, the Empress Joséphine. Episcopal shoes of the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries.

In the large case in the middle :

Shoes of women and children ; slippers and ornamented « sabots », XVIth to XVIIIth century.

In the glass-cases along the walls :

Pattens of Venetian ladies of the XVIth and XVIIth centuries.

Top-boots, men's, France, XVIth to XVIIIth century.

Room III — Leathers

At the entrance, a square glass-case is reserved for the temporary exhibition of recent acquisitions, gifts, or bequests :

In the second square glass-case :

Caskets and writing-cases, covered with « repoussé » or chased leather. French, Dutch and Spanish art, from the XIVth to the XVIIIth century.

In front of the windows, in four flat glass-cases :

Purses, pouches, French and German, XVth and XVIth centuries.

Cases, powder-horns, sheaths, hunting sets, goblets of repoussé or chased leather, France and Germany, XVIth and XVIIth century.

The Madonna, decorative panel of repoussé leather. Italian art, XVth century.

The flight of Æneas, decorative panel of repoussé and engraved leather. Italian art, XVIth century.

Moulds and decorative subjects in stamped or chased horn.

Boxes of games and writing-cases, XVIIth and XVIIIth century.

In the centre of the room, in two flat glass-cases :

Bindings, from the XVth to XVIIIth century.

Against the walls :

Statuettes from retables of carved wood. French and Flemish art, XVth and XVIth centuries.

Chests and trunks, French, XVth and XVIth centuries.

CHESTS

The chest played a preponderant part amongst the furniture of the Middle Ages. It was the piece « par excellence » because it was essentially moveable, a precious quality in those war-like times. Thus it was taken on campaigns and crusades and appeared under tents as well as in rooms. Chests were provided with a lock and key; they contained divisions and secret hiding-places; they could be put to all manner of uses, and everything was stored in them. They constituted safes or wardrobes, they were put alongside beds to be used as foot-steps; when necessary, they became additional beds. When placed against the wall, they were the favourite seats; in the « fabliaux » they are the common hiding-places of ladies' paramours. They were given as wedding presents to newly married couples

who were setting up house and, on that account, acquired an almost symbolical character when they were solemnly carried through the streets to the new abode. A luxurious ornamentation was the outcome of this practice and, from the XIVth century this luxury became such that sumptuary laws were often necessary to control their richness. In the XIIIth century iron clasps and hinges were added; in the XIVth they were made of carved wood, and in the XVIth, their panels were painted in Italy and became veritable works of art; they were also decorated with arabesques in *pâte cuite*. Then the lids became cambered and the chests were called « arks ». They still retained their importance in the XVIIth century, until Louis XIV, being of opinion that they were too bulky and ungainly, relegated them out of his sight.

Linen-chest with Marie Leczinska (wife of Louis XV)'s arms and initials; about 1730.

Cabinet of gilt and stamped leather. France, XVIIth century.

Spanish trunk, of open-worked and embroidered leather, Spain, between XVIth and XVIIIth century.

French trunk, leathern, studded with gilt copper nails, XVIIth century.

The Sybil announcing to the Emperor Augustus the coming of Christ. Flemish tapestry, beginning of XVIth century.

Fragments of tapestry, French and Flemish. End of XVth, and XVIth century.

Fireplace from Hugues Lallement's house at Châlons-sur-Marne. On the mantel-piece, a low-relief : Christ and the Samaritan woman. French art, 1562.

FIRE-PLACES

Fire-places were at first circular and situated in the centre of the room ; the smoke rose freely up, and escaped through a hole in the middle of the ceiling. This summary installation, a survival of ancient methods a few traces of which may still be found in country-places, was replaced by portable brasiers. It was only in the XIIth century that fireplaces were

built into the wall with abutments, mantel-pieces, and basket-funnels ; in the XIIIth century they attained enormous proportions, constituting a kind of closet, the side-walls of which were provided with seats, hence the phrase « to chat under the mantel of the fire-place ». From the XIVth to the XVIth century, they were adorned with carvings which made them magnificent, but they remained uncomfortable on account of the draughts caused by their vast openings; so that, in order to obtain more warmth, three or four fire-places were built in the same room. During the XVIIth century, they became more numerous ; at the same time their dimensions tended to decrease, and from then onwards their ornamentation began to vary, marbles, porcelains, paintings, etc. being added thereto. Louis XIV, who evinced a violent taste for mirrors, had some fixed over his fire-places, and it therefore became necessary once more to reduce the height of chimney-pieces, their proportions being thus restricted to those which obtain at the present time.

In the windows :

Stained glass windows, Swiss, decorated with armorial bearings, figures, etc., XVIIth century.

On the upper portions of the windows :

Escutcheons of Jacques of Amboise, abbot of Cluny, who built the Hotel of Cluny (modern reconstitution).

HERALDRY

The first armorial bearings date from the Crusades. They only existed at first in small numbers on the banners of the most important lords, and served as rallying points in that international mellay. Soon the principle developed, and those knights who were not permitted to fly banners, adopted colours which helped them to recognize one another at a distance ; these colours proved all the more useful when helmets hid their faces. They were worn on surcoats, shields or escutcheons, hence their name *écusson*. The more numerous they became the more necessary it was to vary their field and charges, and that is why they became more and more complicated from generation to generation.

Those of the XIIth century were exceedingly simple ; the

cross, the badge of the Crusaders, being frequent thereon. Louis VII adopted on an azure field, a golden fleur-de-lys, probably the likeness of a lance-head, which henceforward stood for « France ». In February 1376, Charles V reduced to three the number of the fleurs de lys then found on the royal shield ; this was a remarkable simplication in an age which tended to exaggerate everything and in which fashions and manners soon became foolishly ridiculous. Already coats of arms were overladen, and the maternal branch figured thereon alongside the paternal one ; being thus quartered, the escutcheon showed the family alliances, and by the number of its quarters was indicated the number of noble generations. Meanwhile the ingenuity of heraldists was busy inventing countless decorative charges. Again, the outer ornaments increased ; after the helmet and the motto, which were placed above the arms, came the device which was put underneath, then the supporters, allegorical figures, were put on each side as supports for the arms ; round about were the ensigns of the orders, offices and dignities. The colours were of two metals, either *gold* (yellow), or *silver* (white), and had to alternate with six enamels, *gules* (red), *azure* (blue), *sinople* (green), *purpure* (violet) *carnation* (flesh). Two supplementary ones were added, *panes furs*, (*ermine* and *counter-ermine* ; *vair and counter-vair*). It was only at the end of the XVIth century that colours were represented by hachures and guilloches.

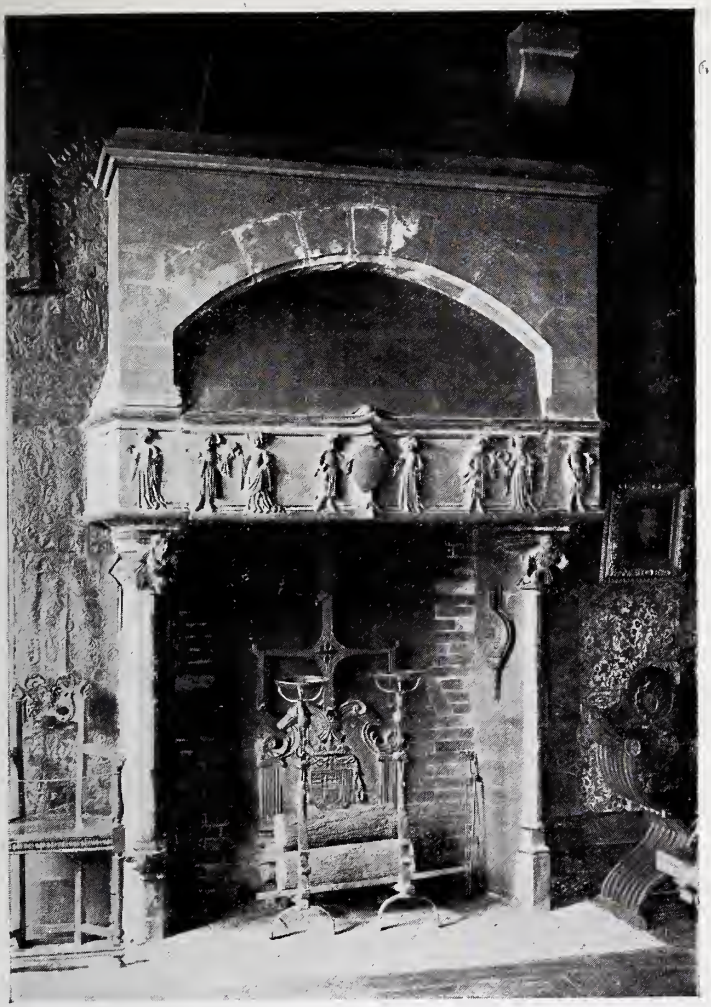
Room IV — Lead and Pewter

In front of the windows, south side, in two flat glass-cases

Lead and pewter articles, religious and secular, XIIth to XVIth century, mostly found in Paris, in the Seine, during dredgings carried out from 1848 to 1860 near the Pont St. Michel and the Pont au Change; collected by A. Forgeais.

PEWTER

Pewter is one of the most ancient metals used in Europe ; it made its appearance much earlier than iron and silver, and dates back to 2000 or 1500 years before our era. It was then used either pure or alloyed with copper, in the form of bronze.



CHIMNEY-PIECE FROM A HOUSE AT LE MANS.

(French Art, early XVth century.)

CHIMNEY-PIECE FROM THE HOUSE OF HUGUES LALLEMENT,
at Châlons-sur-Marne.

(French Art, about 1560.)

Discs, small figures and ingots have been found in lake-dwellings; later in the Byzantine tombs of Upper Egypt (IIIrd cent.), in various shapes, such as jewelry and diverse utensils; likewise in Frankish and Merovingian tombs; in the XIIth century chalices were made of pewter (excavations in Troyes cathedral). Until the XIIIth century, this metal came from England (Cornwall). When this metal was discovered in Germany, an industry developed in that country which produced not only articles of worship, but also common articles such as dishes, pots, pints, bowls, corporation counters and baubles. Pewter was melted down, hammered or engraved. During the Renaissance and especially in the last quarter of the XVIth century, pewter-work acquired more importance still through the art of Francis Briot, of Lorraine, and Gaspard Enderlein, of Bâle. Every town had its marks or workshop stamps : Nuremberg, Strasbourg, Bâle, Cologne, Solothurn, Colmar, Liége, etc.

Glass-case on the left :

Pilgrims' signs, from the XIIth to XVIth century.

PILGRIMAGES

The piety of the Middle Ages presents very particular features. This age believed fervently; it observed all rites very strictly; but really, the morality of the Gospel was very little applied in manners and customs. As for dogma, it remained exclusively in the hands of the theologians; the masses no more asked to be enlightened on the mysteries of religion than the directors of souls sought to explain them.

Moreover, piety was not, strictly speaking, addressed to God, for this was too abstract a notion and escaped the majority of minds, which were too insufficiently cultivated. No images of the Creator appeared on the pediment of churches or on the altars, although His blessing hand, or His foot resting on a cloud, were occasionally seen dominating over some particular sacred scene. Even though statues of Christ abound, He himself remains at a distance. Churchmen were practically the only persons who spoke to Christ directly and even then, it was only in Latin (the Council of 1210 declared every clerk to be a heretic who possessed a French translation of the *Pater* or *Credo*). The ordinary person dared

not appeal to Christ directly because He was too pure and lofty ; also because His position as Judge Supreme at the Last Judgment intimidated the sinner. For these reasons the faithful sought the help of mediators whose rôle was to intercede on their behalf ; on earth, these mediators were the priest and the monk ; in heaven, the Virgin and the Saints.

Our Lady was the true divinity of the Middle Ages : most of the churches were dedicated to her, the soul of the people was in her care. As she was understood better than her Son, so it seemed likely that she would understand human miseries better than He, since she had suffered more humanly. The people felt her nearer to themselves, she was pitiful, and such piety as was devoted to her had something filial about it. She was both the mother of the Saviour, and that of all Christians ; she was the natural mediator between her own divine Child and her other children ; she it was who recommended them to her own infant Jesus in order that He might not be too severe on them on the Day of Judgment

The care of our heavenly interest was not the only one committed to her care ; she was implored also in the worse moments of this life, although in the case of terrestrial difficulties a Saint's intercession was more particularly apt, they being classified for that purpose. Each had his own province and bore some insignia, each protected a district, town, parish or convent, or was the patron of a corporation of trades (see notice on *Corporations*) and of all such as were named after him. Each saint was proper to a particular office : our pains, worries, and above all our illnesses, were shared amongst their various spheres of action. More often than not, a detail from the life of a saint or from his martyrdom was chosen to be the foundation of a belief which expected from him one particular benefaction rather than another. Saint Lucy, whose eyes had been gouged out, was invoked against ophthalmia ; Saint Apolline, whose teeth had all been torn out, ought to cure toothache ; Saint Roch displaying bleeding wounds on his leg, would be an aid against leprosy. A play upon words sufficed to give rise to a popular belief : Saint Mamès provided nurses with milk ; Saint Mein de Gaël was supposed to cure rash on the hands (la gale des mains) ; he also patronised the beggars, since these stretch out their hands. Besides, he himself was the child of his own name, for originally a stone (*min*) in

the Gaëlic district was the object of a celtic worship, and when christianity became implanted in Brittany, Min-ar-Gaële was transformed into Saint Mein de Gaël. Such types of substitutions are not unfrequent, for many saints highly reputed locally, and even far afield, have never existed and are only a survival of some pagan divinity which was formerly worshipped in that particular locality. Since the new religion was unable to extirpate this inveterate superstition in a radical manner, it was obliged to adopt and sanctify it with a Christian name. The great wisdom and indulgent tolerance of Saint Gregory, in the VIth century, recommended this means of evangelisation, of which numerous vestiges are found, particularly in Britanny. It also happened that a mere copyist's mistake completely created a fictitious person to whom a legend was accordingly fitted. Thus Saint Ursula being martyrised in company with her servant, Undecimilla, the latter, by the simple addition of an « i », was transformed into Eleven thousand virgins, (Undecimillia).

In this manner, there was gradually constituted, beneath Christ, a kind of polytheism, which was idolatrous and superstitious, as well as totally foreign and sometimes even contrary to the spirit of the Gospel. This huge mythology perpetually grew by the addition of new miracles, for mediæval mentality being essentially imaginative, as becomes extreme youth, was characterised by its love of the marvellous. The whole of the Middle Ages is rife with prodigies ; they were sought for everywhere, unceasingly hoped for, or dreaded without respite. The Devil was believed in as much as God. The need for magic was so imperative that the intervention of supernatural forces appeared to be the most natural thing of all.

Against the Devil, who made himself felt at all moments and to whose vigilant hostility all that was pernicious was attributed, only the powers of heaven were capable of successful intervention. But how was their aid to be obtained? Much less by means of moral reasons than by the virtue of material relics. The mortal remains of saints or fragments thereof and, even more so, all objects belonging to Christ or the Virgin, secured to their possessors, or to those who beheld them all kinds of advantages. They brought peace to consciences, gave absolution of sins, cured illnesses, averted plagues, gave immunity against blows in war, prevented defeats, and in general procured success in all enterprises, whether legitimate

or not. Now it was asserted and acknowledged that these favours were obtained as the outcome of steps or measures taken to this end ; it was necessary to approach the sacred object and to invoke it either in its vicinity and at its resting-place, or else it had to be carried to the spot where its influence was to make itself felt.

Hence, for hundreds of years, the extreme importance of the pilgrimages. They were carried out at great cost and even great peril, for highways were far from being safe ; some of these pilgrimages required months and even years to fulfil, and since those which were farthest distant needed the greatest effort, logically they were the most meritorious. Jerusalem and Rome, which were so rich in pious relics, stood foremost. The most varied necessities could find efficacious relics without going outside France for them. The churches disputed their possession, each out-bidding the other in gold ; every monastery set itself the task of obtaining as many of them as possible in order to add to its own holiness, reputation, and pilgrim connections, hence to increase its prosperity and income. The trade in relics was international and gave rise throughout Europe to constant transactions; hawkers offered their finds to religious houses, parishes, châteaux and passers-by. The most fantastic ones were accepted with enthusiastic candour ; whoever hesitated to believe in them, took good care not to express his doubt, for fear of committing a sacrilege for which the saint might avenge himself. The authenticity of a new article only appeared to be questionable to those establishments which were liable to lose their prestige or suffer competition on account of another establishment's acquiring the said article. Violent quarrels arose between monasteries. Relics were stolen by armed force and murders occurred when their possession was coveted. It also happened that they existed in duplicate or triplicate ; but the simultaneous presence of several examples of one unique object never shook anyone's confidence.

In order to judge this superstition and its excess at its true value, it is not sufficient to examine the mystic desire for belief which was ever alive in our ancestors. The need they had of help, which was only too real, must also be taken into account. The supernatural was truly their unique refuge and the only valid hope. Against man-born evils and those of nature too, nothing protected the individual, and no secur-

ity of any kind was to be hoped for; hygiene was void, medicine non-existant, epidemics raged almost permanently and famines were perpetually recurrent. The law was uncertain ; justice could be bought ; property was precarious, since it was continually threatened by war and pillage ; brutality reigned everywhere, force overriding right. Life and property were only secure behind the ramparts of castles and towns, the gates of which were closed every night. Again, morals and conscience were on a much lower level than people care to imagine to day. No oath was likely to be kept, unless it had been taken on the host, Gospel or shrine, for in that case the perjurer would no longer have to dread the insignificant reprobation of his fellow creature, but the anger of outraged heaven. An honest and pious soul could only find refuge in the cloisters. Yet even amongst the Orders, in the XIIIth century, which was the purest and best, the ecclesiastical and papal censures and the « fabliaux » alike acquaint us with the fact that the clergy was far from setting an example in virtue.

Is it surprising, then, that in a life so bare of help, the people sought for miraculous protections outside the world ? They had no others. As soon as the efficacious virtues of a relic were proclaimed, crowds of pilgrims flocked thither. Around some isolated chapel a village sprang up, and several of them quickly became populous centres. The scheme was also planned of installing branches close to large towns, for such as could not undertake long journeys; Boulogne-sur-Seine, an extension of Boulogne-sur-Mer, was founded in this way in 1319.

In order to serve either for himself or for his friends, the pilgrim brought back from these sanctuaries small souvenirs which possessed some of the privileges attached to the pilgrimage. They made up quite a collection of lead and pewter articles of all description, phials (small receptacles containing miraculous soil or water), medals, lockets, various knick-knacks, and above all badges which were worn ostensibly on the hat or clothing and served as amulets. The use of these badges was universal ; the superstition attaching to them has lasted for more than eight centuries and has not completely died out in our days ; besides, its origin is evidently anterior to christianity, and it should be observed that, if the Church has tolerated and encouraged this custom as being

useful to the propagation and upkeep of the faith, it was never made an article of Faith.

Holy Shifts, from Chartres. Amulets of the XVth and XVIth centuries.

THE HOLY SHIFT

It has been observed that the emblems of saints, their relics and the pilgrimages to these relics, as well as the badges, phials and medals brought back from these pilgrimages, constituted the real foundation of medicine in the Middle Ages. Relics of the Virgin were naturally reckoned among the most efficacious. An authentic shift of the Mother of the Saviour was preserved at Chartres. Shirts cut out after this model procured immunity from wounds in war, as well as from conjugal mishaps ; therefore they enjoyed an enormous credit. Brantôme, who was not exactly ingenuous, wonders that this « armour » should be allowed to be worn in duels. Failing the shirts themselves, a leaden medal which possessed the same virtues was worn on the chest.

Glass case on the right :

Pilgrimage **phials. Trinkets** for hats. **Badges**, civil and political, pass-counters, etc.

Miniature with inlaid figures, secular and sacred.

Lockets and **ex-votos.**

On the sides of the windows :

Decorative fragments of pewter, leaden **commemorative** and **funeral tablets.**

In front of the windows, north side, glass-case on right :

Parisian **toys** of lead and pewter, of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, from dredgings : **trinkets, brooches, pins, rings, buttons, hooks, tooth-picks, pencils of lead, whistles and bird-calls, bells, small chains, belts, ferrules**, etc.

Glass-case on left :

Corporation counters.

CORPORATIONS

From the moment that the Franks established a military domination and hierarchy in Gaul, war became the exclusive affair of the nobles; therefore war alone was noble; the serfs and villains suffered at its hands and worked to finance it, yet they never fought themselves. It was for that reason that manual labour was considered a mark of servitude and a sign of dishonour.

But in Rome workmen of the same profession had already joined together; amongst the Germans, *ghildes* had had a similar character. This double origin explains how associations could be formed at so early a date and, although some of them were secret (origin of Free-masonry), the aim of the greater part was the defence of common interests and a control over work. Charlemagne at the end of the VIIIth century, and Philippe-Auguste at the end of the XIIth (Synod of 1189), vainly tried to forbid them; Saint Louis regulated them (middle of XIIIth century). Each grouped together the production of its own class into a monopoly and in each, the *syndics* or *jurés* limited the number of workmen, the hours of work, the length of apprenticeship, they checked and stamped the products, and conferred the mastership; they policed themselves and were responsible for any disorders. Their importance increased notably when Louis XI, rousing the people to stand by him against the nobility, issued regulations concerning the Corporations and bestowed on them, not only badges, but also the right to carry a dirk, which up to then had only belonged to the lords. (1467). The modern middle-class, or Third Estate, which brought about the French Revolution, emerged from these organisations. The number of corporations was considerable; every profession had its own, since all workers, such as surgeons, painters, sculptors, no matter what talent or genius they might have, indiscriminately belonged to the working classes. (Artistic works were rarely signed by their authors and very often the name inscribed thereon was that of the donor, the word *fecit* meaning therefore: *had... executed*),

Each of these corporations owned special badges reproduced on leaden counters (*méreaux*) and on their banners. This custom was extremely old, even earlier than the nobility's heraldry, since under the Emperor Tiberius (14-37) the Parisian Watermen or *Nautes* had a boat as their badge, such as is seen

carved on the springings in the Salle des Thermes. This hull is the same which the *Marchands de l'eau* (Water sellers) adopted later on and which still figures on the arms of the city of Paris. Nevertheless, corporative heraldry, apart from that of the Nautes, hardly appeared before the XIIIth century and only became general in the XVth.

All these corporations were under the patronage of a saint who was chosen sometimes on account of a detail in his life, but often also because of his name, when it lent itself to one of those ambiguities in which the Middle Ages and the Sorbonne delighted. What we nowadays call a pun has been, through all ages, an amusement for the French nation, even in religious matter. Thus it was that St. Barbara became the patron saint of artillery men who generally wore a beard ; Saint Sebastian, the patron of tag-makers because tags were used to hold up the hose (*ses bas se tiennent*) ; St. Laurent, the patron of roast-shop keepers because he died on a grill ; St. Crépin and St. Crépinien, the patrons of shoemakers because they use *crépine* (fringed lace) ; St. John, the patron of printers because he was thrown into a vat full of boiling oil, and because printing ink, produced from oil, is prepared in a vat; St. Clair, that of glaziers and lantern makers ; St. Blanchard that of washerwomen (blanchisseuses) ; St. Roch (rock) of road-menders ; St. Vincent, of wine-growers ; the Ascension, of slaters, and the Nativity, of straw-plaiters, (*nattiers*) etc.

Religious counters, trade and other checks, pontifical **bulls**, etc.

In the middle of the room, in a square case :

Communion-cup, France, XIIIth century.

Hexagonal pyx of pewter; on the lid, the Annunciation. French art, middle of the XIVth century.

Casket with pewter hinges and ornaments. France, XVth century.

Ewers, ewer-basins, vases, cruets, cups, large and small dishes of pewter. French and German art, from the XIVth to XVIIth century.

In four flat cases :

Tablets and medals, of lead. Italian, French and German art, from the XVth to XVIIIth century.

Heart-shaped casket, of lead, containing the heart of Louis of Luxembourg (died 1573).

Children's **toys,** of lead and pewter (military, religious, and household toys), France, XIVth to XVIIIth century.

Large and small dishes, of pewter. Lorraine art (François Briot's) and German art (Nuremberg), middle of XVIth century.

Moulds of stone and bronze, for stamping out lead and pewter, or for casting the molten metal (dishes, cups, medals, phials, crucifixes, knick-knacks, small figures, buttons, etc.), from the XIIth to XVIIIth century.

Against the walls :

Two large Flemish retables, gilt and painted wood. Antwerp workshops, about 1500.

Triptych, painted and gilt. Flemish art, beginning of XVIth century. Central portion, the Descent from the Cross, carved in full relief, with donor kneeling on the right. On the two wings, paintings representing the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi and the Passion.

The Calvary, Gothic panel, painted on wood and varnished. French art, XVth century.

Credence tables and dressers. France, end of XVth and beginning of XVIth century. (Partly restored).

CREDENCE TABLES

For fear of being poisoned, high personages caused the eatables and beverages which were going to be served them, to be tested in their presence ; this testing, which enabled them to have confidence (in latin, *credere*) took place on a special piece of furniture, namely, the *credence* table. It was, primarily, a hollow cut into the wall, or even a mere board. It was only in the XIIth century that it was detached from the wall and

became a movable piece of furniture. At that time, it was a small round table which was shifted from one place to another and covered with a cloth. Later, a back was added to it and the whole put back against the wall; the lower portion remained open and the upper portion consisted of two wings. Up to the XIVth century the credence tables remained plain; in the XVth century they acquired sculptured ornamentation, and afterwards, a canopy. In lordly or rich middle-class dwellings they were utilised, not only to test food but also to display the plate and table services, and thus became an evident sign of wealth. This custom developed through vanity and grew general in the XVIth century. At Louis XIV's court, valets served the guests from the credence table, and they each stood behind their respective master; the middle-class copied court etiquette. After the death of the Great King a reaction took place in taste, which became plainer; the valets were dismissed, so as to leave their masters freer: high personages preferred to help themselves; for this purpose, a light table called a *servante* was put within reach to replace the servants. Thus in the XVIIIth century the movable table, which had disappeared since the XIIIth century, came again into favour.

Room V — Bronzes

Before the windows, in two flat glass-cases :

Plaquettes and medals. French, Italian, German and Spanish art, from the XVth to the XVIIth century.

On the splays :

Commemorative and funeral tablets.

In the middle of the room :

Plaquettes, mirrors, and paxes in bronze and copper, chased, gilt, etc. French and Italian art of the XVIth and XVIIth centuries.

Celestial sphere of engraven and gilt bronze. Italian art, 1502.

Lectern of carved brass, in the shape of an eagle, bearing

the date 1383 and the names of two church-wardens of the church of Saint Nicholas, at Tournai, whence it comes.

DINANDERIES

The « moulders of brass » or copper-smiths of Dinant-sur-Meuse were so reputed from the XIIIth century onwards, that their name was given to the numerous utensils which they manufactured from copper, bronze or brass, hammered, moulded or turned. Several Dinantais had settled in France and Germany in the XIVth century; when Charles the Bold sacked Dinant in 1470 the moulders of brass who then remained, left the town. However, Dinant which had produced real works of art, did not completely forsake the industry yet; on the other hand, it no longer kept the lead it had enjoyed during the XIVth and XVth centuries. From the XVIth century, only copper and bronze articles « repoussé » with the hammer were called by the technical name of « dinanderies ». In spite of the huge number which once existed, *dinanderies* are now very rare, for they were systematically destroyed and thrown in the melting-pot along with the « champlevé » enamels, after the invention of artillery (battle of Crécy, 1346).

Against the eastern partition, in a flat glass-case :

Metalwork, knick-knacks, and **pieces of harness** in bronze and brass, from the XIIIth to XVIIth century.

On the right and left, in two wall-cases :

Statuettes of bronze, from the XVth to XVIIth century.

A flute-player, by Antonio Pollajuolo (died 1498).

Head of a faun or of **an antique wrestler** in wax, Italian Renaissance, completed later with a bust of cast bronze.

Nymph, Bacchant. German art, XVIth century.

Facing the windows, in a wall-case :

Equestrian figure, end of XVth century, in cast and chased bronze, called « Jeanne d'Arc » on account of the

apocryphal inscription engraved on the base : « la Pucelle Dorliens ».

Two aquamaniles, (animal-shaped ewers). Flemish art, XVth century.

On the right of the chimney, in a wall-case :

Small pot, ewers, kettle. Dinanderie of the XIVth and XVth centuries.

Calvary of repoussé copper. Flemish art, end of XVth century.

On the wall :

The grapes of the Promised Land. Dish in hammered copper. Flemish art, XVIth century.

Various dishes ornamented with heraldry, arabesques or plaits, of stamped copper. German art, XVIth century.

On the left of the chimney, in a wall-case :

Paxes of chased and gilt bronze, from the XVth to the XVIIth century.

PAXES

The first Christians, as a token of fraternity, passed on to one another, no matter how they were placed, the « kiss of peace » which the officiating person had given to his nearest neighbour before the communion. This primitive custom, which had been laid down by St. Paul, still existed in the XIIIth century and the story is told that Blanche de Castille, the mother of St. Louis, gave the kiss to a courtezan. About that time a modification in the ritual was either introduced or generalised ; henceforward, the priest held out to the faithful, a small saintly image, before which they passed and knelt in turn to kiss it. This was the *kiss of peace*, or in short, the *pax*, a piece of metalwork in the form of a tablet which the priest held by means of a handle fixed behind it. Paxes were often made out of precious materials and sometimes constituted veritable works of art.

Furniture ornaments, small bells, mortars, playthings of bronze, etc.

Between these two glass-cases :

Chimney-piece from the house of Hugues Lallement, Châlons-sur-Marne. On the mantel, a low-relief : Actaeon changed into a deer. French art, about 1560.

On the opposite side to the fire-place :

The Arithmetic lesson, Brussels tapestry, beginning of XVIth century.

Facing the windows :

The Adoration of the Magi. Brussels tapestry, middle of XVIth century.

Corridor VI — Mirrors

Mirrors and frames in repoussé copper, or carved and gilt wood. France, Italy, Spain, XVIth and XVIIth century.

Room VII — Audéoud Collection

In a square glass-case in the middle of the room :

The Adoration of the Magi and Shepherds. Small silk clad figures in carved wood, or terra cotta. Neapolitan work, XVIIIth century.

In the glass wall-case :

The Massacre of the Innocents. Wood and gummed cloth. Neapolitan work, end of XVIIIth century.

In the corner of the room near the window :

The Apparition of the Devil ; a piece of vestry furniture. Jointed figure, rolling its eyes, putting out its tongue, shaking chains and uttering yells. From a church in Milan. Neapolitan work. End of XVIIth century.

THE DEVIL

The representations of the Devil, which were so varied, but always made in bestial and fantastical forms so as to terrify, were countless in the Romanesque epoch, which was torn between two Hells, that of here-below and that of hereafter. These representations were perpetuated throughout the Middle Ages. It is only towards the XVth century that iconography reveals to us a Satan new-formed by the nascent scepticism : this new style of Devil assuming a human face and worldly airs, was the forerunner of the sarcastic Mephistopheles of the XVIth century. Sometimes it is permissible to suppose that he is purely and simply a portrait, a caricature of some contemporary personage, for the care of wordly affairs daily occupied a larger place in the anxiety of men's minds. The Demon himself became human, a dealer and a logician ; he bargained and signed agreements, buying souls and selling power. Woe betide the enemies of those who had given themselves up to him ! (*Sorcery and Satanism*). This state of mind continued up to the end of the XVIIIth century, bringing with it a great many executions of sorcerers. As for the real Devil of the XIth century, he now only frightened people with a vivid imagination, such as those living in the South, Spain and Italy. In those places, mechanical devils still caused the nuns and devout persons to swoon ; but soon these terrors of the sacristy or the nunnery became children's playthings and caused laughter when they jumped out of their boxes.

Cordova leathers, cabinets of Hispano-moresque design, XVIth century.

The Pleasures of the Country. Flemish tapestry, end of the XVIth century.

Table-cloth embroidered with silk, decorated in Eastern style. XVIth century.

Corridor VIII — Spanish Retables

Retables, painted and gilt. Spanish art, end of XVth and XVIth century.

Square paving-tiles, France , XIVth to XVIth century

PAVING-TILES

It would seem that, about the Carolingian period, square paving-tiles took the place of the tesselated pavements which the Romans had imported into Gaul; the substitution was general, but the process ruder and much less costly. Flat tiles made of terra cotta and previously stamped were placed one against the other in such a manner as to produce a general design. The process had been known amongst the Eastern peoples for many ages past, and the Crusades apparently inspired the French with a taste for it. Already in the XIIth century, French floorings presented an artistic character; in the following century they were complicated with variegated incrustations and brightened with a varnish of lead. The shapes varied and became either square, hexagonal or octagonal; the designs and combinations were multiplied. Very fine tilings also existed in the XIVth and XVth century, but it is not always possible to fix a precise date to them, for the potters were quite willing to copy their oldest models, and these were preserved up to the XVIth century. About the time of the Renaissance, painted tiles definitely supplanted the stamped ones, and the Rouen workshops were then able to achieve, in designs and tones, splendid earthenware tiles (see the French Ceramic section, balcony XIV; Ecouen tiles, etc.).

Wooden staircase with the arms and initials of Henry IV and Marie de' Medici, from the old Chambre des Comptes; France, end of XVIth century. (The Chambre des Comptes or Audit Office was installed in Philippe the Fair's reign, in the Palace, near to the Sainte Chapelle; altered in 1486 by Charles VIII, in 1504 by Louis XII, and later by Henry IV and Louis XIV, it was the scene of historic events. It was burnt down in 1737).

Room IX — Carved wood

In front of the pillars; middle pillar:

Christ on the Cross. Auvergne art, end of XIIth century (the painted cross is modern).

Infant Christ, blessing. French (?) art. Ascribed to François Duquesnoy, known as François Flamand (died 1643).

The Virgin or **A Saint**. French art, beginning of XVIth century. (A piece of work of remarkable beauty, and of a very deep sentiment, but with parts restored, *viz.* the hands, the lower part of the gown).

Opposite middle pillar :

Christ on the Cross. Flemish art. XVth century (modern cross).

Ste Geneviève des Ardents. French art, XVth century. From the church of N.-D. at Poissy. A very fine piece and one which for a long while effected miraculous cures under the name of Notre-Dame des Ardents.

Along the wall adjoining the Thermes :

St. George slaying the Dragon. French art. End of XIVth century.

The Angel of the Annunciation. Italian art. Pisa school. XIVth century.

Stall surmounted with canopy, France, end of XVth century. (Partly restored; the heraldry is questionable).

THRONES (BISHOPS', ETC.) AND ARMCHAIRS

The armchair, which was a state seat, was originally an imitation of the Roman curule chair, in the form of an X with concave lines, made of metal or inlaid wood : the celebrated throne of Dagobert, executed by saint Eloi, provides us with the type. Later on, a back was added; the seat became flat like a bench, and concealed a chest, as did the bench. Then, in the XIVth century, the back grew higher, reaching so far as to become a long panel ; in the XVth, it was decorated with carvings and often surmounted by a canopy rendered lighter by means of interlaced ogives. But this dais did not last long ; by the beginning of the XVIth century, the back of the stall was lowered to such an extent that it hardly passed the height of the elbow-rests (Henry II's reign). Soon afterwards it regained statelier proportions (Louis XIII) ; at the same time

TWO MOURNERS.

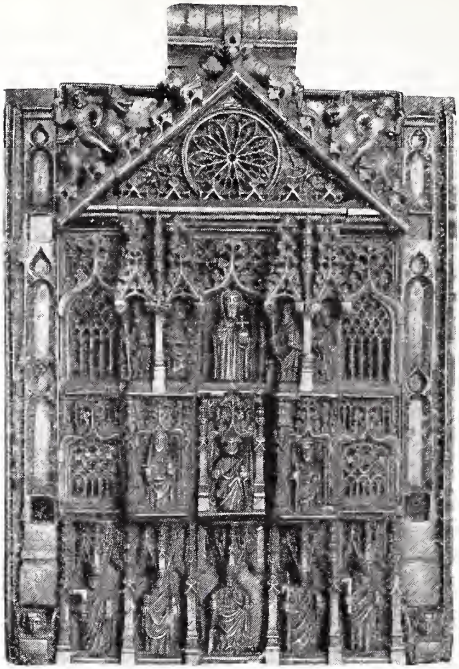
(Burgundian Art, first half of XVth century.)

Photo Braun.

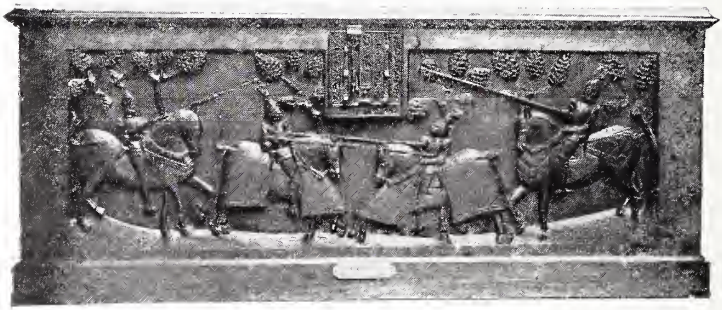
INFANT ST JOHN.

Glazed terra cotta, by Andrea della Robbia. *(XVth century.)*

RUBENS'S CHILD, by Cyfflé.



A CHEST LOCK. *(XVth century.)*



A CHEST. *(XVth century.)*

the lines became slenderer. At that time, the movable cushions (*banquiers*) which were formerly tossed about on the chairs, became fixed and were fastened to the wooden frame-work of the furniture; thus bolstered up, the ancient « *faudesteuil* » (folding-stool) and the « *chaière* » became the armchair (fauteuil); the bench likewise became our modern sofa; chairs gradually took the place of the stools, which formerly existed in large numbers and could be easily moved about, as the familiar, but deferent, custom of squatting down on velvet or embroidered *carreaux* (square cushions), at the feet of the ladies, was dying out.

St. John in the Wilderness. Italian art. Sienna school, XVth century.

The Virgin and Child (with Virgin seated), Auvergne art, XIIth century style executed in the XIIIth century.

Along the wall, on the garden side :

Folding table of painted oak. Germany. Beginning of the XVth century.

TABLES

The Romans used to eat reclining on beds; they introduced this custom into Gaul and it must have died out at the time of the Barbarian invasions. In the Carolingian period, tables of a semi-circular form, resting on trestles, are already to be seen on miniatures. No plates at all; but in the middle of the table, a common dish into which everyone dipped his fingers (see *Forks*). The beverages were not on the table; the serving-men brought them to the guests after the Germanic custom (see *Credence-tables*). The guests were seated on one side only, the other being left free for the service. Since regular table-cloths had not yet made their appearance, a sheet of cloth was placed on the free side, to hide the trestles; it was called the « *tablier* » (apron); the word still remains, but has not retained its original meaning. Table-cloths (*nappes*) only appeared in the XIIIth century; by then the table had become rectangular, being generally narrow and long. People still sat on one side only and the service was carried out in the front. When the guests were numerous, several tables were put out in the form of a horse-shoe, whilst in the middle of the room were given those entertainments

dear to the Middle Ages (*entremets*), which took place between the different services of the feast. After the meal the table and trestles were removed. During cold weather the table was laid in front of the fireplace, hence the saying : « Le dos au feu, le ventre à table; (back to the fire, stomach to the table) ». When, finally, the legs were made one with the table, they were plain, solid and generally made of oak. Later on, in the Renaissance, they were carved; Henry II's reign produced sumptuous tables of walnut-wood, supported by chimeras and griffins.

Enclosure railing from the church at Augerolles (Puy-de-Dôme). French art, beginning of the XVIth century.

Mary Magdelene. Flemish art, about 1500.

The Virgin and Child (the Virgin standing). French art, XIVth century.

Along the wall, adjoining the chapel :

The Virgin and Child (figure cut off at waist). Flemish art, end of XVth century.

Chest (on the front is a scene from a tournament in low-relief). French art, XVth century.

The Virgin and Child (the Virgin seated), Dutch art, region of Maestricht, beginning of XVIth century.

Chest (on the front are engraved designs, raised figures on dotted ground : the Fountain of Youth?). Italian art, XVth century.

Virgin (opening), French (?) art; end of XIVth century; (the group inside has been restored).

On the side of the corridor :

Saint Louis. French art, end of XIIIth century. (Partly restored). This statuette, which has been famous for centuries, originally decorated the roof of the « Châsse des Grandes Reliques » (Shrine of the Great Relics) placed behind the altar of the Sainte-Chapelle; the Juvénal des Ursins manuscript shows it standing at that place. After the Revolution, it was found by a collector and the

museum acquired it, in 1851, for the sum of 95 francs.

Supports of a desk and a portion of choir rails from the château of Gaillon, near Louviers. French art, about 1510. See on the second floor, room XXVIII, other fragments of same origin.

Above the door :

The Story of the Virgin. Painted panel. English art, XIVth century.

On the right and left of the door :

The Virgin and **St. John.** Two figures from a calvary. Italian art, XIIIth century.

Engraved boards for the tabular printing of playing-cards, from the XVIth to the XVIIIth century.

PLAYING-CARDS AND PRINTING

The invention of printing was the outcome of playing-cards. In 1392, king Charles VI became mad and playing-cards, for which he acquired a liking, were used to amuse him. Immediately, by imitation, public fancy became impassioned for this pastime; but hand-painted cards were very expensive. The idea therefore occurred of engraving pictures on wood, blackening them over with ink and afterwards pressing them on vellum. Thus an invention had been carried out for a witless human being which, unknowingly, was going to propagate thought. (It should be noted, however, that the Chinese had already known of this method of tabular printing for the past 900 years). Some little while later, this process was used to compile the « Bibles of the Poor », collections of saintly pictures, which were less costly than illuminated manuscripts. Gradual progress was made in this art of « mould carving », during the first half of the XVth century, in Germany as well as in France; but the manifold difficulties were only finally overcome by Gutenberg, whose *Psalter*, the first book ever printed by means of movable letters of cast iron, appeared in 1457 at Mayence. Gutenberg's workmen swore never to divulge the secret of his process; however, the Germans sacked Mayence in 1462, the artisans were disbanded,

and a French workman, Nicholas Jenson, who had been sent by Charles VII to Mayence to study Gutenberg's art, established himself in Venice in 1479, because the hostility of the new French king prevented his entry into France. The books which were published in that town are numbered amongst the most admirable. About the same time, several German workmen took refuge in France in the old Sorbonne, under Louis XI's protection. The Parisian citizens welcomed them so cordially that, as a token of their gratitude, they considered it fit to dedicate their first publication to the town which they hailed as the « Ville Lumière » (Town of Light) ; this name is therefore one of German homage.

The spiritual fermentation which had been apparent for some time past, was prodigiously hastened on by printing. The Reformation broke out. To stem the evil, Francis I, surnamed *Père des lettres* (the Father of Letters) forbade, under penalty of death, the printing of books of no matter what kind (1535). Almost immediately after (1536), he granted an exceptional privilege to twelve printers, all the others remaining liable to capital punishment. In 1546, Etienne Dolet was hanged and burnt on Place Maubert.

Moulds for pastry, of wood, from the XVIth to the XVIIIth century.

Four mosaics from the Abbey church at St. Denis. French art, XIIth century.

MOSAICS

The Romans had imported mosaic art into Gaul : small cubes of various stones were placed together and cemented, forming together a variegated design to serve as a ground pavement as well as a front covering for the walls. The Byzantines enriched their mosaics with smalt and gold, endowing them with a magnificence whereof Venice and Ravenna still possess examples. Several French churches from the Vth to the XIIIth century were thus adorned. The bombardment of the cathedral of Rheims has revealed a Carolingian mosaic in the choir.

In so far as wall decorations are concerned, this process, necessitating large flat surfaces, disappeared in the Gothic period, which no longer provided them. For floorings also, this method

was not long in disappearing, owing to the lack of skilled workmen in the art. However, Italy did not completely lose touch with this art, and in the middle of the XVth century, the glass-makers of Murano (Venice) brought it back into favour.

But the Italian Renaissance did for mosaic what it was doing for tapestry. Instead of preserving for it the widely decorative character of its compositions, it applied thereto the principles of painting and devoted itself to executing actual pictures. Miniatures were thus achieved, (which antiquity had already attempted before), and jewels and furniture were adorned with mosaics. In the XVIth century, Florence manufactured cabinets, mirrors and tables, rendered more decorative with many-coloured marbles, *a marquetry of marble* rather than regular mosaic. This style, which was very popular in France at the beginning of the XVIIth century, brought about a revival of mosaic work; Louis XIV gathered Italian workmen together and workshops were founded at the Gobelins. Sumptuous stones, such as agate, jasper, and cornelian, appeared in the decoration of the rooms and furniture which grew resplendent, to suit the taste of the Great King.

The Virgin and Child, worshipped by two angels; a mosaic by David Ghirlandajo. Florentine art, end of XVth century. From the church of Saint Merry, Paris.

In the right-hand part of the room, in two square glass-cases supported by two **Renaissance tables** (*French work, middle of the* XVIth *century*); *first square case* :

Virgin, double-faced. Flemish art, beginning of XVth century.

Joseph of Arimathea and **Nicodemus** at the Calvary (?). Figures from a retable. French or Flemish art, beginning of XVIth century.

Music-playing Angel, Flemish art, XVth century.

The Virgin at the Calvary, French art, about 1510.

The impenitent thief. A jointed figure, with springs, putting out its tongue, rolling its eyes, and attachable to the preacher's pulpit. Auvergne art, XVth century.

Caskets of carved wood. French art, XVth and XVIth century.

Second square case :

Head of Christ. Southern French art, end of XVth century.

Head of St. John on a charger, painted and gilt wood. Southern Germany or Northern Italy, XVth century.

Mask of Christ, apparently from an entombment scene. Southern Germany, beginning of XVIth century. (It would appear that this mask was completed with false hair and draperies).

Between the two square cases, in two flat cases :

Figures from altar-screens. French art, XVth and beginning of XVIth century.

Figurines, small diptychs, round lockets and small low-reliefs of carved wood. French, Byzantine, German and Flemish art. A copt **comb** of the IVth century, French **combs** of the XVth and XVIth centuries.

COMBS

The combs which have been found in the Greco-Roman tombs of Egypt, and dating from the IIIrd or IVth century, are no different, either in form or material (mainly ivory or box-wood), from those left to us by the Middle Ages and which we utilise still under the name of small toothed combs.

Up to the XIVth century, they were mostly decorated with religious subjects ; it was therefore thought that they were *liturgical combs*, i. e., combs used at some religious ceremony in the course of which a clerk combed or pretended to comb an enthroned bishop. But the combs intended for ordinary use might very well have been decorated with religious subjects, these being, for a long time, the only ones employed on furniture or monuments, no matter for what use they were intended. As soon as art commenced to free itself from religion, in the XVth century, the designs on the combs became profane and suggestive. All mediæval combs have two rows of teeth

set more or less close together ; the large-tooth comb did not yet exist and its duty was doubtless fulfilled by the *gravouère*, a pointed ivory peg used to disentangle the knots in the hair. The ladies were combed by their chamber-maids. The men, being often at war and wearing helmets, probably took little care of their hair ; romances and fabliaux show the knight, on his return from some campaign, seated on a square cushion at the feet of his lady or fiancée, who combs and examines his hair whilst he falls asleep under the touch of her fingers.

Left side of the room, in two square cases :

Strength, by Conrad Meit, of Worms, (about 1530 or 1540).

Adam and Eve, by Francheville. End of XVIth century.

Louis XIV slaying Heresy. Statuette symbolising the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685.

Between the two square cases, in three flat cases :

Two bellows, middle and end of XVIth century.

BELLOWS

The hand-bellows which are used nowadays do not appear to be earlier than the XIIIth century and they were used but exceptionally. The fire was blown on by means of a metal or wooden tube; in better class houses, special servants were engaged for this tiring duty (*souffleurs*, blowers) ; for princely rooms, tubes of precious metal were manufactured. (See a specimen of these tubes in the fire-place of this Room).

Backgammon games of the XVth and XVIth centuries, French and German.

Pawns by Leonard Daner, of Nuremberg, about 1570.

Small caskets, medallions, tobacco-graters, nut-crackers of carved wood. French, Flemish and Dutch art. Boxes from the school known as **Bagard's** (Nancy, XVIIth and XVIIIth century).

On the walls :

Three tapestries, from the set of the « History of

David and Bathsheba ». Brussels workshops, about 1520.

The deliverance of St. Peter, tapestry with the arms of William de Hellande, bishop of Beauvais, who gave them to the cathedral of that town. French art, 1460.

Two hangings, embroidered with silk, « History of St. Catherine of Alexandria ». French art, beginning of the XVIIth century. From the château of Tarascon.

In the four corners of the room :

Four statues, of stone, representing four apostles, from the Sainte-Chapelle (interior decoration of the upper Chapel). French art, second half of the XIIIth century. The twelve statues of the apostles which were against twelve pillars in the chapel had been taken down in 1797. When the restoration of the building took place in 1850, only six could be put back in their place ; the other six were assigned to the Museum of Cluny. Four of these had formerly been used in the decoration of a « Chemin de Croix » on the Mont Valérien, where they were mutilated and beheaded during the disorders of 1830.

Near the door opening on to the archway of the chapel :

Sign statuettes. France, XVIth century.

Figure of gilt wood, decorative fragment from the Bucentaur. Venetian art, XVIIth century.

THE BUCENTAUR

Venice possessed a sacred galley, *the Bucentaur*, the emblem of its maritime power. This enormous ship, adorned with carvings and entirely gilt, served once a year in the renewal of the celebration of the wedding between the Doge and the Adriatic. On Ascension day, amidst great pomp, it made for the open sea wherein the Doge threw his ring as a sign of marriage, in order to subdue it to his marital authority. This nuptial ring had been given to the Republic in 1172 by the Pope Alexander III as a token of gratitude for the help and hospitality which the Republic had extended to him. Perhaps

the wedding ceremony dates back to that time, but the Venetian maritime pretensions were of earlier date, for they had made themselves felt for two centuries. In 998, Venice had already conquered the empire of the Adriatic, which was later extended to the Mediterranean and jealously held throughout the Middle Ages against all new-comers, Christians or Mohammedans alike. Being unconnected with the surrounding countries, this colony of Asiatics which (maybe before the foundation of Rome) had established itself on the lagunes of Venice, played the rôle of a commercial intermediary between the Eastern and Western worlds. Its trading brought it immense riches and tremendous power, which was pitilessly used for friends or against foes, but ever with savage pride and selfishness. At the beginning of the XVIIIth century, this republic of merchants, whose prosperity was bound to lead to excessive enjoyment, gave itself up to revels of all kinds; it found its death in a carnival which lasted a century. In 1797, Bonaparte entered the city of the Doges, and the symbolical *Bucentaur* was solemnly burnt down as a sign of the abolition of the Venetian power.

A very few fragments were saved by the patriotic piety of several of the citizens : Count Molino, Governor of the Arsenal, to whom this cruel execution was entrusted, was able to rescue two figures which adorned the stern ; his son offered one of these to the library of Venice, and the other to the Museum of Cluny.

Room X — Ironwork

At the entrance of the room :

Railing of wrought iron. French art, XIVth century.

Railing, jointed, of wrought iron. Italian art, XVth century. From Verona.

Door knockers of iron and bronze. French, Italian, and German art, from the XVth to XVIIth century.

In flat glass-cases, on the right of the entrance ; first case :

Des Mazis collection of French and German locks, from the XVth to XVIIth century.

Door lock with bolts, of wrought iron, with religious

inscriptions : « IHS. Ave Maria gratia plena ». French art, XVth century.

Chest lock, in wrought and chased iron. French art, XVth century.

Keys, French, of iron and steel, chased, engraved and open-worked, XVIth and XVIIth century.

STEEL

Steel is iron combined with a very small portion of carbon (1 or 2 per cent), which renders it non ductile and non-malleable, but hard and fragile. The Crusaders brought back the Damascus steel, which kept its world wide reputation throughout the Middle Ages. During the Renaissance, Germany and northern Italy as well as Hungary, produced remarkable steels ; Milanese armours were the most appreciated and their prices rose very high. On the field of battle, the victorious knights did not hesitate to relieve the vanquished ones of their armour, and even made a glory of it. In the XVIIIth century, English and Swedish steels became popular. The first-known mention of French steel only dates back to 1609.

Toothed **keys**, master-works ; same periods.

Second flat case :

Rustic **lock** of wood. France, XIVth century.

Large chest lock, of wrought iron. Germany, XVIth century.

Furniture locks of wrought and chased iron. French and German art, XVth and beginning of XVIth century.

Chamberlain's key.

CHAMBERLAINS

Under the Carolingians, as under the early Capetians, the chamberlains (*chamberlans, chambriers*) who, on account of their duties had perpetual access to the king, were naturally entrusted with the care of the royal treasury. They countersigned charters and edicts, kept the accounts, paid the wages, distributed alms, received oaths from the vassals and introduced the ambassadors. In the XIVth century, the High Chamber-

lain, in the absence of the Queen, was required to sleep « at the foot of the King's bed ». His importance, which equalled that of a Chief Minister, was envied by the highest lords. Philippe the Fair entrusted this office to a gentleman of low birth, named Enguerrand de Marigny ; on the death of the king, Enguerrand was hanged at Montfaucon, so much hatred had his power and devotion aroused against him (1314). He it was who headed the gathering of those middle class men and commoners with whom the kings surrounded themselves later, during their struggle against the nobility, and whom the latter nicknamed in derision *Marmousets*. (On the mentality of those times, see the notes concerning the XIVth and XVth centuries).

Third flat case :

Large lock of wrought iron, engraved on the inside with religious and profane subjects. German art, XVIth century.

Collection of locks of engraved iron, open-worked. French art, end of XVIth and XVIIth century.

Fourth flat case :

Writing-case casket of iron and silver, chased, engraved and gold inlaid, French art, XVIIth century.

Lock front and furniture decoration of chased iron. French art, XVIIth century.

Various objects of chased iron and steel (small comfit boxes, basket-hilts, sword-hilts, top lockets, purse-fastenings, belt-hooks etc.). French art, XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries.

Wall case, in north-west corner :

Lights (candlesticks, lanterns, lamps, tinder-boxes, snuffers, etc.) from the XVIth to the XVIIIth century.

Chest **keys** and padlocks, XVIth and XVIIth centuries.

In front of the west wall, two flat cases ; in the right-hand one :

Cutlery, from the XVIth to the XVIIIth century.

Hunting knife, handle decorated with engraved gold inset. French, XIVth century.

Huntsman's outfits of gilt and engraved steel. French, Italian and German art, XVIth century. (The cases are exhibited in the Leather room).

Blades of steel, knives, cutlasses, bills, etc., of the XVIth and XVIIth centuries.

In the other flat case, in front of the same wall :

Table utensils, from the XVIth to XVIIIth century.

Table requisites, folding spoons, forks, XVIth and XVIIth centuries.

FORKS

The use of forks is quite modern : in the middle of the XVIth century people still ate with their fingers out of a common dish, the most important guests helping themselves first. Before the meal everyone would wash his hands at the table and openly, so as to give assurance of his cleanliness to the other guests ; at the end of the meals, the washing again took place.

Forks only appeared in the reign of Henry III, together with other refinements which were all badly received : this one was probably due to the excessive dimensions of the ruffs worn by the king and his favorites. Forks, being then articles of luxury, were often made of precious metals and kept in cases, each person carrying his own outfit. Under Henry IV, the use of these utensils remained so rare that public opinion was almost unanimous in considering it as a ridiculous custom which would soon die out : the Fair Gabrielle and, later on, Anne of Austria, still ate with their fingers.

By the middle of the XVIIth century, Italy, alone in Europe, had widely adopted forks ; in France, their use was not accredited before the reign of Louis XIV, at which time they were added to the crockery and dishes on the richly served tables, and took the form they have preserved to this day.

Spoons, being indispensable for liquid food, are of much more ancient use, all the guests helping themselves from a common soup-tureen. The large spoons, as well as the large forks with which each person could fill his plate, were only invented about

1695 by a fastidious nobleman (the Duke of Montausier). The use of plates dates from more or less the same period.

In front of the same wall, between the two cases :

Large chest of wrought iron. France, XIVth century.

Seigniorial tithe of bronze. France, XVth century. From the château of Milly.

The Three Fates. Alabaster group. School of Germain Pilon. French art, second half of XVIth century.

Bands of wrought iron. French art, XIIIth and XIVth century.

Strong chest of wrought and chased iron : applied decoration of foliage, vases of flowers and animals, in low-relief and the round. French art, time of Louis XIV.

In a wall case, in the south-west corner :

Shield of repoussé and chased iron. Italian art, XVIth century.

Hilted swords. Spanish, French, and German art, XVIth century.

Rapiers, XVIIth century.

Standard of silk with the arms of Burgundy ; France, XIVth or XVth century. Found in 1860 under a flooring in Notre Dame of Paris, where it had probably been hidden during the civil war between the Armagnacs and the Burgundians.

In front of the wall, on the south side, right and left of the bay :

Gaulish blade, French swords, Xth to XIVth century.

Broad-bladed sword, XIIIth century. Found in 1861 in the substructure of the Grand Châtelet. The place where this exceptional piece of work was discovered and the castle of champlevé enamel with which the handle is decorated, have led to the belief that it is the sword of an executioner ; such a theory (though not improbable) is not by any means proved.

Two-handed swords. Swiss, German, and French, XVIth century.

Trophies of helmets, morions, sallets, breast-plates, shields, etc. XVIth century.

Targets of wood, decorated with paintings. Germany, XVth and XVIth century.

Tilting lances, XVIth century.

Knights' and horses' armours. French, Italian, German, XVIth century.

In two wall cases, right and left of the bay :

Édouard de Beaumont's Collection; arms of the XVth and XVIth centuries, amongst which may be noted :

Two small Italian swords (tucks), XVth century.

Ornamental **sword**, by Fideli, Italian art, end of XVth century.

Ornamental **sword**, Bavarian art, end of XVth century.

Sword with the arms of Milan, XVth century.

Sword of Pescaire, damascened with gold. Italian art, first quarter of XVIth century.

Tournament **sword** of the Emperor Frederick III.

Dirk with discs, Italian art, XIVth century.

Venetian **dirk**, end of XVth century.

Battle-axe and mace, XVIth century. Italian art.

Small round shield and duel shields. Italy, XVIth century.

Swords, Italian, German, and French ; XVIth century.

Italian dirks, XVIth and XVIIth centuries.

Sword-belts and carriers, XVIth and XVIIth centuries.

In a wall case, in the south-east corner :

Quarrels and caltrops, XIVth and XVth centuries.

Cross-bows with jacks and rollers, XVIth century.

Arquebuses and pistols, XVIth and XVIIth centuries.

Fire-arms, batteries of arquebuses and flint-guns; powder horns, XVIIth century.

Revolving gun with eight shots, XVIIth century. This flint-gun of Louis XIII's period already possessed, as is the case with the modern revolver, a cylindrical barrel with eight chambers, revolving on a circular steel axis.

In front of the wall, east side, in a flat glass-case :

Cottenot Collection : **Pistols**, French, Italian, German, of the XVIth and XVIIth centuries.

In a wall case :

Saddle axes and battle clubs, France, XVth century.

Rapiers, saddle swords, XVIth century.

Swords (left-handed), Spain, XVIth century.

Wooden parade **buckler**, XVIth century.

Helmet and **sword** of the Doge's guard, Venice, XVIIth century.

English soldiers' **helmets** (time of Cromwell), XVIIth century.

On right and left :

Swiss **armour**, XVIIth century.

In front of the same wall, in a flat case :

Lock plate, **round and flat bolts**, with Diane de Poitiers' and Henry II's initials, from the château of Anet. French art, middle of XVIth century.

Lock plate of chased iron, dated 1573. French art.

Four square glass-cases; in one of them, towards the south-east corner :

Caskets of iron or set off with iron, XIVth to XVIth century.

CASKETS

The casket had the same fortune and almost the same importance as the chest : they resembled each other although being of different sizes, and were both given as wedding presents ; money, jewels and everything precious being stored in the casket. The wood of which the caskets were made was decorated with inlaid work of carved ivory, or with silver, gold and precious stones, or again with hammered, chased and damascened iron-clasps. In the XVth century, the iron covering was open-worked ; this gave them the aspect of a net-work of wires, whence they derived their name of *maille* (mail). In this form they became travelling strong-boxes and it was for this reason that they are sometimes found with concave bottoms, so as to be more conveniently adapted to horse-saddles. Henceforth, by a play upon words such as was dear to the Middle Ages, the same name served to indicate the contents and the container ; « maille » means « monnaie » and the word is found in several phrases : « n'avoir ni sou ni maille » (to have neither a half-penny nor a farthing), or again « avoir maille à partir » (to have money to share with co-heirs or thieves). The portable character of the small article in question appears clearly in its modern derivative : « la malle » (the trunk).

Caskets with net-work protection for travelling (provided with saddle rings), or for the household (without rings, with or without feet). France, XVth century.

Small safety strong-box (opening with the word Luise), France, XVIth century, time of Francis I.

Second square case, towards north-east corner :

Caskets of iron and steel ; XVIth century.

Caskets of engraved iron. French, German and Italian art, XVIth century.

Casket of chased steel and copper. German art, XVIth century.

Caskets of iron decorated with damascening, and of painted iron. German art, XVIth century.

DAMASCENING

Damascening is the decoration of a metal (generally iron or steel, sometimes bronze or copper) obtained by incrusting it with a more precious metal (gold or silver); the surface is first of all engraved with a graver or with aqua fortis, and into the hollow thus formed is put a strip of metal, which is rammed home with a flat chisel, until the two metals adhere perfectly; the whole is then polished. As indicated by its name (Damascus) this art is of Eastern origin and was probably imported by the Crusaders. Wood also has been damascened. Inlaid enamelled work (*niello*) should not be confused with *damascening*; in the former case, the tracings of the design are filled, not with a precious metal, but with a sort of dark enamel (molten silver, lead and sulphur).

Casket of repoussé wrought iron; Spanish art, XVIIth century.

Third square case, towards the north-west corner :

Lighting articles, from the Vth to XVIIth century.

Sassanide lamp of bronze with 3 burners, Vth century.

Candlesticks and feet. Bronze candlesticks, of the XIIth and XIIIth centuries.

Three taper-holders for travelling, jointed. French art, XIIIth and XIVth century.

Pricket and socketed **candlesticks** of copper; France, XVth century.

Fourth square case, towards the south-west corner :

Artillery man's face protector of iron; France, XIVth century.

Helmet with vizor and ear protectors; XVIth century.

Morions, engraved, decorated with arabesques and damascened. German, Italian and French art, second half of XVIth century.

Two catching gloves of skin, for the left hand; the glove is mailed inside in order to allow the adversary's sword to

be caught. Italy, XVIth century. Extremely rare articles.

Gorgets and nape-pieces. End of XVIth and beginning of XVIIth century.

Shoulder-piece of repoussé and damascened iron. Italy, XVIth century.

Noseband of a horse. Germany, XVIth century.

Bust (or corset), and a corset **busk**. France and Flanders, second half of XVIth century.

Girdle, so-called **of chastity**, of engraved iron, decorated with arabesques. Italian or German art, XVIIth century (dated 1634).

GIRDLES OF CHASTITY

Public opinion is in the habit of attributing girdles styled « chastity girdles » to the Middle Ages, and to fix their use at the same time as the Crusades. Nothing warrants this assertion : no document indicates either the use or existence of such articles. Boccacio, in the XIVth century, does not even know of them : the oldest one that has yet been mentioned was owned by Francesco Carrara, a tyrant of Padua, who, besides, was sentenced to death by the Senate of Venice on account of his cruelties and crimes, (end of XVth century). Carrara's belt, together with the other instruments of torture which were produced at the trial, are now preserved in the Arsenal Museum at Venice. In France, these belts appear to have been unknown until the Renaissance ; Rabelais is the first to speak of them (about 1540) and he ascribes their use to Northern Italy ; a little later, in the reign of Henri II, Brantôme records an attempt to import them, which is unique and may scarcely be called successful. Under Louis XIV, La Fontaine and Madame de Sévigné mention a second appearance of these articles ; they have also been known to figure, in our own time, in several criminal trials ; whatever the period, they were never used but in exceptional cases, and they never entered into ordinary use.

Girdle of chastity of iron and ivory, XVIIth or XVIIIth century.

Hair-cloths, XVIIth century.

In four arms-racks, round the pillars :

Halberds, from the XVth to the XVIIIth century. Flat halberd and hunting-poles, France, XVth century. Partisan of engraved iron, decorated with animals and foliage, hunting weapon, Germany, first half of XVth century. Battle-axe called Lucerne axe ; XVth. Battle halberd, with contemporary staff, end of XVth. Pike, end of XVIth century. Revolutionary pikes, end of XVIIIth century. Halberds and partisans in open-worked iron, engraved and gilt, French, Swiss, and German, parade arms, XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries.

THE SWISS SOLDIERS

The Swiss cantons hired out to princes entire battalions of mercenaries; Louis XI employed them (1474). After Francis I had defeated the Swiss who were the allies of the Duke Sforza, at the battle of Marignano (1515), he drew an advantageous treaty with them whereby it was agreed that they should furnish a perpetual guard to the French kings. The Swiss remained faithful to their agreement as long as royalty lasted ; on the 10th of August 1792, they were massacred at the Tuileries in the defence of Louis XVIth. In imitation of the kings, private people wanted to have « Swiss » servants, and bedecked lackeys who went by the name of « Suisses » were seen at the gates of private houses and in churches.

> « Il m'avait fait venir d'Amiens pour être suisse ».
> He made me come from Amiens to be his " Swiss ".
>
> (RACINE, *Les Plaideurs*, A. I, SC. 1)

Around the room :

Three tapestries from the series of the « Story of David and Bathsheba », Brussels workshops, about 1520.

Near the entrance :

Carpet of velvet, embroidered with silk, decorated with flowers and animals. A piece in Oriental style executed at Palermo, XVIth century (?). From the treasury of Strasbourg cathedral.

Room XI, known as the Holy Spirit Room (Ironwork continued)

Armours, French, German and Italian, XVIth century.

All round the room, on the left hand when entering; in a flat case :

Brigandines, doublet with eyelets, XVth century.

THE BRIGANDINE AND BRIGANDS

The brigandine was a leather or cloth doublet covered with metallic plates, which replaced, for pedestrians, the heavier and costlier breastplates. Brigandines were at first used solely by the foot-soldiers of Languedoc, and were named after them (*briga*, armed band, *brigade, brigands*). These bands, (whence *bandits*) overran France throughout the Middle Ages and particularly during the Hundred Years' War (XIV-XVth centuries). From the beginning of the Vth century, as soon as the Roman authority broke up, and in the great disorder which followed the barbaric invasions, these vagrants began to terrorise the peasants (*manants*) of the flat country; it was then that the strong castles appeared on high ground, wherein the peasants took refuge against the pillagers in case of an alert. The lord protected the villain (*villa*, country-house), and this was the origin of the bond of alliance from which feudalism resulted. Around the *burg*, at its foot and close to its walls, in order to be nearer to the shelter, were gathered together the sedentary trades which formed the *bourg*, the inhabitants of which were the « bourgeois », the « faux-bourgeois » dwelling in the back ground. Thus towns were formed, an agglomeration being needed against the brigands; it was just as much against their surprise attacks as against the foreign enemy that the town was fortified with thick walls. For as soon as a truce interrupted the perpetual wars, the pillagers made it a mockery ; once the mercenaries were paid off by the princes who hired them (solde, soldat, *soudoyer* : to hire, *soudard*), they had to live somehow, so they remained in the country and plundered it. Since they occupied all the roads every band was called a « route », and the brigands, *routiers*. Merchants were their

daily prey ; they laid siege to castles and towns, ransomed kings and popes, and captured Byzance and Greece. The atrocious misery which they brought about everywhere rendered existence impossible. Vainly did Duguesclin, under Charles V, attempt to destroy the *Grandes Compagnies* by taking them with him against Peter the Cruel, to the other side of the Pyrenees ; they revived all the same.

The evil only ceased when Charles VII, by means of a *Pragmatic Sanction*, instituted a permanent army (2 November 1439). The people paid them, and the fatherland came into existence ; from that time onwards, to the end of the XVIIIth century, acts of brigandage no longer took place but in exceptional cases, during the crises of the civil wars.

Spurs of the Middle Ages and Renaissance.

Cannons, bombards, culverins, from the XVth to XVIIIth century.

Cannon-balls of composition, stone and cast-iron ; antique and modern ; grenades, etc.

Wafer moulds and moulds for consecrated wafers, from the XIIIth to XVIth century.

Right-hand side, in a flat case :

Door-knockers and handles. France, Germany and Italy. XVIth to XVIIIth century.

Against the west wall :

Professional **tools** and scientific instruments, from the XVth to XVIIIth century.

Andirons and fire-dogs, from the XVth to XVIIth century.

ANDIRONS OR FIRE-DOGS

The use of andirons, *i. e.* tripods with long stems against which the logs were piled up, very probably dates back to the time when the hearth left the middle of the room to be built against the wall. When this utensil had hooks or gridirons attached to it, on which to hang spits or kettles, it was called a « hastier ». They were first made of wrought iron, after-

wards of cast-iron, brass, or bronze; they then gradually lost their slender proportions and were decorated at the base with crouching animals, mainly dogs. The name chenets (*fire-dogs*) appeared in the XIVth century and became common iu the XVIth.

At the end of the room :

Household utensils of the XVth to XVIIIth century : boiling-pots, a pail, gridirons, pan and firetongs, bellows, smoothing irons, curling-tongs, shovels for chafing-pan, cork-screws, nut-crackers, extinguishers, warming-pans, basins, fountains, etc.).

Collection of French weights and measures, XIIIth to XVIIIth century.

In the middle of the room :

Collection of **heraldic seals,** signets, etc.

Chapel hangings and **mantles** of the Order of the Holy Spirit, founded by Henry III in 1579.

THE MILITARY ORDERS

In the XIIIth century, a mixture of warlike ardour and pious fervour, the former derived from the feudal spirit and the latter spread by the Church, brought about the first Crusades and also gave rise to the special Orders which embodied the crusading spirit. Being monks and soldiers at the same time, they joined together in defence of the work and conquest of the Crusades in the East ; the *Hospitallers* were founded in 1100, the *Templars* in 1119, the *Teutonics* in 1191. Their power and wealth immediately developed to excessive proportions ; in 1314, Philippe the Fair, aided by Pope Clement V, got rid of the order of the *Templars* so as to take possession of their property ; a little while later, the *Teutonics* were likewise crushed.

The *Hospitallers,* who had at first settled at Jerusalem, covered Palestine with French architecture ; driven out by the Mussulmans in 1309, they took possession of the isle of Rhodes and established themselves firmly thereon ; as *Knights of Rhodes,* they protected the Mediterranean with courage

and vigour. The capture of Constantinople by the Turks (Mahomet II, 1453) rendered their position terribly precarious (1480), but the Christian princes took no interest in them and abandoned them. After a heroic defence, they were once more dispossessed (1523) and under their third name of *Knights of Malta*, they were established on that island by Charles V. The struggle which they were waging against the Infidels was carried on throughout the whole of the XVIth century. They still wore a Cross on their garments, the badge of the ancient crusaders, but their task had virtually ended the moment that the Crusades had definitely failed, that is to say from the time when, not only the idea of imposing the Cross on the Mussulman countries of Asia and Africa had to be abandoned, but when, contrariwise, the Crescent was established, over a vast portion of Europe. Henceforth, these Orders, being mere shadows of themselves, only bestowed titles and emblems on their members. Others consequently came into existence, in imitation, but they were all purely honorary; every kingdom possessed one or more of them, and in memory of the ancient mission, their members were called knights, commanders and grand masters; in nearly every case, the cross continued to be the decorative badge.

Exceptionally, several orders adopted a profane badge (*the Garter*, an order founded in 1350 by Edward III; the *Golden Fleece*, by Philippe the Good, in 1429). In order to counterbalance the influence which the Duke of Burgundy obtained from this foundation, Louis XI created the order of *Saint Michael*; but it very soon fell into discredit, on account of the way in which it was lavished. Under the last Valois, it was called « the collar for all beasts ». After the peace of Bergerac, which put an end to the sixth war of religion (1577), Henry III hoped to lessen the prestige of the Guises and gather the Catholic forces around himself alone, by creating a new order which he was to grant to the chiefs of the League. The Order of the *Holy Spirit* was to have one hundred members with the king as Grand Master. This institution did not produce the benefit which was expected of it, and Henry III decided to have Henri de Guise assassinated (Blois, 1588); he himself was afterwards murdered by the avengers of his ambitious cousin (Jacques Clément, 1589). The Order of the Holy Spirit was suppressed by the Constituant Assembly in 1791, and re-established by Louis XVIII in 1816. It finally disappeared in 1830.

The Order of the Legion of Honour had virtually replaced it since 1804.

On the walls of the room :

Four tapestries from the series of « the Story of David and Bathsheba », Brussels workshops, about 1520.

The Virgin and Child. Marble. French art, XIVth century.

The Virgin of the Priory of Arbois. Alabaster. French art, beginning of XVIth century. (The face of the child is restored).

At the further end of the room :

Two tapestries. The Story of Daniel, and that of the Prodigal Son. Flemish art, about 1500.

Room XII — Coaches

THE COACH

During the whole of the Middle Ages and up to the end of the Renaissance, the most practical and most generally used means of transport, for both women and men, was the saddle horse, palfrey, or hackney. Very often women got up behind the horseman.

Carriages existed, however, but they were only used for long journeys ; in daily life, they constituted an exceptional luxury. For a thousand years, they hardly varied in shape ; they consisted of four equal-sized wheels, with a body resting level on two fixed and parallel axles ; the entrance was behind. Inside were two benches running lengthwise, whereon ten or twelve persons could be seated, with a profusion of cushions; overhead, a covering held up by hoops or four posts ; the whole was richly decorated outside and inside with paintings and gilt. These carriages, which were at first the property of a few noble ladies, were soon envied by rich middle-class women. In the XIIIth century, a sumptuary law already endeavoured to regulate their use, which, nevertheless began to spread in the XIVth, as did all the other ostensible signs of wealth. However, in

the middle of the XVIth century, Paris still possessed only two coaches, one belonging to the Queen, the other to the king's mistress. Later, Charles IX forbade their use in the streets of Paris. Henri IV only possessed one, and in a letter to Sully, he apologized for not being able to go out, the queen having taken the coach. Under these circumstances, progress in coach-building was very slow; and it was only under Louis XIV that the idea originated of lessening their discomfort by suspending the body on leather straps (*swinging carriages*). At the court of the Great King, the coach like everything else became stately and luxurious; losing some of its weight under Louis XV, it tended to be more graceful, and the public coach (*coches*) already made its use popular.

State coach, French production, time of Louis XV.

State coach. Italy, end of the XVIIth century. Decorated anew during the second half of the XVIIIth century.

State coach. Italian production, end of the XVIIIth century.

Sledges. Netherlands, XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries.

Sedan-chairs. France, XVIIIth century.

SEDAN CHAIRS

As has already been observed, coaches were still, during the Renaissance, one of the rarest and costliest luxuries. The thick mud of the towns, particularly Paris, did not favour walking in gala costume; so that noblemen were continually on horse-back and the ladies still rode behind them as in the Middle Ages; sometimes the highest of the princesses journeyed in this manner to the royal fêtes at the Louvre. The *carrying chairs* were only used by invalids and were mere portable armchairs. Charles V, Catherine de' Medici, and Queen Margot were carried thus. About 1620, this usage, which was considered as of foreign (either Italian or English) origin, crept into French customs, and soon proved so convenient that many towns hired out these chairs, being authorised to do so by « royal privilege ».

In order to afford a shelter from the rain, the *portable chairs* were covered, at first, with a hood; afterwards they were closed in by glass-windowed sides. As early as 1650, Mazarin's chair

was decorated with a luxury which, under Louis XIV, became magnificence; for vanity was not slow in showing itself on this article, the public exhibition of which being intended to indicate to everyone the « gentility » of its owner. The coats of arms painted on the sides, as well as the livery of the bearers, facilitated recognition and homage, at a meeting in the street. This exterior decoration became so important under Louis XV that certain chairs were real works of art, painted by illustrious masters.

Models of **coaches and dolls' coaches.** XVIIth and XVIIIth century.

On the walls :

Various kinds of **harness**, XVIIth and XVIIIth century.

Mule cloth, embroidered with silver. Spain, XVIIth century.

Four Flemish tapestries, after Teniers the Younger (the Farm, the Harvest, Fishing, the Fair). XVIIth century.

Retracing his steps to Corridor VIII (Spanish retables), the visitor will ascend the stair from the Chambre des Comptes (see above) and reach

THE FIRST FLOOR

Corridor XIII

At the top of the staircase :

Battle of Jarnac (1569). French tapestry, end of the XVIth century (see in room XIX, two other pieces from the same series).

On the walls :

Illustrious Roman Personages, after Goltzius, painted on gilt, embossed leather, Norman school, XVIth century. From the hôtel of Evancourt, Rouen.

On the right and left :

Saint Anthony, statue (stone). Burgundian art, early XVth century.

Saint Eustace in the torrent, a stone-group in the round, French art, first half of XVth century.

Sainte Barbara, statue (stone). French art, second half of XVth century.

A swineherd, statue (stone). French art, early XVIth century.

The Virgin and Child, statue (stone). French art, Troyes school, first quarter of XVIth century.

The Virgin and Child, statue (marble). French art, Troyes school, first third of XVIth century. From the church of Breuil (Marne).

On the left of the corridor :

Balcony XIV — French Ware

At the entrance, south side, against the railing, in two flat cases.

Left-hand case :

Gallic and Gallo-Roman pottery :

French pottery, from the XIIth to the XVth century : small objects, porringers, rush-lights, stamped paving-tiles.

Right-hand case :

French pottery of the XVIth and XVIIth centuries : lamps of glazed earthenware, narrow-necked jar, rustic bottles of sand-stone, paving-tiles.

Near by, at a cant of the balcony, in lower portion of two glass-cases :

Coarse French pottery from the XIVth to XVIth century : kitchen pottery of glazed earthenware.

West side, near the bay looking on to the salle des Thermes :

Three ridge ornaments. French art, Normandy XVIth century.

On the right of the bay, in a glass wall-case :

French ceramic, XVth and XVIth centuries.

Large glazed dish, green tone, bearing Charles VIII's arms ; Beauvais workshop. (Made in 1511, from a XVth century mould).

Cup with cover, Saint-Porchaire ware, middle of XVIth century.

Two glazed paving-tiles, earthen-ware known as « of the château d'Oiron », middle of XVIth century.

By Bernard de Palissy (1510-1590) : **Glazed dishes**, called « rustic pieces », decorated in relief with foliage, shells, reptiles and fish.

School of Bernard de Palissy : **large and small dishes** and **baskets**, stamped out and glazed, decorated in low-relief with masks and arabesques, religious or mythological scenes. End of XVIth and early XVIIth century.

Ewers and small figures of lustred clay, Brizambourg ware ; end of XVIth century.

Northern side, large wall-case with six divisions ; first division :

Sceaux Ware (established 1750). Dishes, vases, jugs, coffee-pots, flowerstands etc., with polychromatic decoration.

Parisian Ware. (Workshops of rue de la Roquette, founded by Digne, middle of the XVIIIth century). Pharmacy pots with polychromatic decoration.

Second division :

Lorraine Ware from **Lunéville** (established in 1730) and **Niderviller** (est. 1754). Bunches of flowers from **Les Islettes** (became known about 1785).

Third division :

Alsatian Ware from **Strasbourg** (established in 1709). Dish-stands, flower-stands, cruets, baskets, etc. With floral decoration.

Fourth division :

Marseilles Ware (enlarged in 1770). Crockery decorated with fruit in relief, or in the form of animals and vegetables ; polychromatic epergnes, decorated with fruit or vegetables in the round.

Fifth division :

Moustiers Ware (First appearance at the end of the XVIIth century). Table-service with blue, yellow or polychromatic decoration.

Alcora Ware (A Spanish branch of Moustiers, founded in 1727 by the Count of Aranda, with the aid of artists from Moustiers). Reproduction of Moustiers patterns.

Wall tablets, painted with religious subjects. Alcora workshops, Spanish art, about 1730.

Between the two cases against the northern wall :

Rouen Ware ; large pieces, **fountain and dishes** in blue camaieu, second half of XVIIth century.

SMALL FOUNTAINS

These fountains were indispensable in the dining-rooms or kitchens of middle-class households. Since the use of forks was only introduced in the middle of the XVIth century, and did not generalize before the XVIIIth, guests ate with their fingers out of a common dish. It was therefore necessary to wash the hands before and after meals. In aristocratic circles, the servants presented to the guest, a basin and ewer with scented water as well as a towel hanging from their arm; in the king's household alone, did it hang from the shoulder ; in more modest dwellings, the guests went to the fountain to wash.

Second case, entirely set apart for :

Rouen Ware, from the late XVIIth to the late XVIIIth century.

1st. Rouen decorated with blue scallop, second half of the XVIIth and of the XVIIIth century.

2nd. Rouen polychrome, decorated with quiver and horn designs.

3rd. Rouen blue ground, decorated with polychromatic bunches of flowers (imitation of Nevers design).

4th. Rouen in brown colour (very rare ; experiments made during second half of XVIIIth century). Octagonal bowl with polychromatic decoration on translucent enamel (lead enamel), which allows the natural clay to be seen ; the lower portion of the bowl is covered with tin enamel ; the subject represented is a hunting scene, after Tempesta.

THE INVENTION OF PLATES

The use of individual plates, like that of forks, is quite recent ; the guests helped themselves piece-meal out of one common dish, with three fingers. They tore up their meat with their teeth or knives, utilising in the latter case round slices of bread which were laid on the table and called *tranchoirs* (trenchers) ; *porringers* also were used for two persons, whence the phrase « to eat out of the same porringer » (manger à la même écuelle). The habit of using plates only spread in the XVIIIth century. A historic event determined their popularity : towards the end of the preceding century, Louis XIV, involved in debt by wars and constructions, had sent his gold and silver plate to be turned into coin ; the nobility and higher class people followed his example. In order to replace this plate (*plate* meaning silver, whence « plat », which originally indicated, not the flat shape of the dishes, but the material from which they were made), it was necessary to manufacture utensils of a less costly nature. Humble crockery could be enhanced by the artistic value of its decoration : the Hispano-Moresque and Italian workshops gave proof of this; no similar art existed in France, but it arose on this occasion.

Venus, glazed figure.

Map of France.

In the corner of the room :

Large Rouen dishes decorated with blue scallop.

Close-stool. Rouen, polychromatic decoration.

CLOSE-STOOLS AND HYGIENE

The earliest-mentioned seats of this kind date back to the XIVth century ; they were made of wood, highly decorated and padded with velvet; their luxury may be accounted for by the wealth of those high personages who alone possessed them at that time. At the same period *chambres basses* (basement chambers) or *chambres courtoises* were to be found in several seigniorial dwellings, as well as huge pits which popular imagination now looks upon as *oubliettes*. Luxury of this kind in building, like luxury in furniture remained very rare until the end of the XVth century. As a rule, even in princely or royal dwellings, the inhabitants threw the filth out of the windows or even emptied it at their door ; more often than not, everyone took his precautions before entering his house : several proverbs advise this act of prudence.

Thus the filth made circulation impracticable in the streets, above all in the side streets, lanes and alleys, and round about the churches. To this uncleanliness of towns (particularly Paris) the epidemics may be ascribed which decimated the population from the XIVth to the XVIth century. The public street decrees issued by Philippe VI and by Jean-le-Bon, in 1348 and 1359 and afterwards renewed by Francis I in 1522, prove the persistance of this evil. The decree of 1522 created a service of rubbish-carts to gather up the filth, and prescribed the installation of a *retreat* in every houses. If was hardly observed, even in the king's household. In the galleries of the Louvre (thanks to their rows of statues), in the magnificent staircases (thanks to their landings), and in the bedrooms (thanks to their large fire-places), the lords and ladies of the Renaissance managed to find suitable retreats. Such habits still lasted under Louis XIV at the court of Versailles, and they continued under Louis XV, whose palace was an infection.

They justified the constant use of scent bottles, which are found in such large quantities.

Meanwhile, close-stools had become more widely used; they were not concealed in any way. On the contrary, Henri III would welcome his friends seated on his, and Louis XIV likewise received people of high rank. The privilege of being present at these gatherings was an envied honour with the nobles and ladies of the court. In return, the king would take his meals alone.

East side, a wall-case entirely set apart for :

Nevers Ware (First appearance mentioned in 1608).

Crockery, blue pattern on white ground.

Crockery, white and yellow pattern on blue ground.

Polychromatic design, large ewers, vases, bowls, flower-stands, imitating the Italian ware of Urbino.

On the left and right of this case :

Large pieces of Nevers Ware.

East side, second wall-case :

Delft Ware (First appearance, end of XVIth century, enlarged towards 1650).

Delft Ware with **blue** pattern; Delft with **polychromatic** design; imitation of China-ware; gilt Delft; black Delft.

At the bottom of the same case :

Hœchst Ware (Germany). Polychrome crockery in the form of animals or vegetables.

South side, between the bays, first wall-case :

Foreign **wares**, XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries.

Dish from **Winthertur** (Switzerland); soup-tureen from **Anspach** (Bavaria); dishes with stars, and flagon from **Nuremberg**; plates from **Marieberg** (Sweden); reticulated vase from **Münden** (Hanover); stove-tiles from **Hamburg**.

DOUBLE BODIED CABINET
from the Abbey of Clairvaux. *(Late XVIth century.)*

Photo Braun.

PHARMACY POT.

Faënza. *(Late XVth cy.)*

Photo Braun.

DISH OF RHODES WARE.

(XVIIth century.)

Photo Braun.

OVAL DISH

by Bernard Palissy.

Photo Braun.

CUP

of St-Porchaire ware.

(Middle of XVIth cy.)

Along the same wall, second wall-case :

French **sand-stone ware** from the XVIth to the XVIIIth century ; manufactured at **Beauvais, Orléans, Avignon, Thuirs** (Eastern Pyrenees).

West side, left-hand wall-case :

German and Limburgese **sand-stone ware** ; XVIth and XVIIth centuries ; workshops of **Horh** and **Grenzhausen, Raeren, Sieburg, Creussen, Nuremberg** ; beer-pots, jugs, vases, etc.

Bouffioulx (Belgium) **sand-stone ware**, XVIIIth century.

Near by, at the cant in the balcony, (S.-W.), in a high glass case :

Figurines of porcelain, XVIIIth century.

German **manufactories** of **Saxony, Hoëchst, Berlin, Frankental.**

Viennese manufactory (Austria).

French **manufactory** : **Mennecy**, figures of soft paste.

At the cant in the balcony (N.-W.), close to the Lorraine ware, in a tall case :

Figurines of Lorraine ware, **Lunéville** and **Niderwiller** workshops, groups and personages by Cyffié.

Terra cotta subjects.

Near by, against the railing, north side, in a flat glass case :

French **porcelains** of soft paste, table services. Manufactured at **Sèvres, Saint-Cloud, Mennecy**, and **Chantilly.**

At the cant in the balcony (N.-E.), near the Rouen ware, in a high glass case :

French **Ware** of the XVIIIth century.

Sinceny (established in 1735) dishes with polychrome design.

Rouen, XVIIIth century, tobacco graters.

At the cant in the balcony (S.-E.) towards the exit, in a high glass case :

French **Ware**, second half of XVIIIth century.

Aprey factory (established in 1750), **Lille** (1696) **Saint-Amand** (Nord, 1740), **Valenciennes** (1735), **Sinceny, Bailleul** (?).

On the walls :

Polychromatic **paving-tiles** of glazed sand-stone, from the Brémontier workshops, French art, beginning of the XVIth century.

Paving-tiles of polychromatic ware, from the Rouen and Lisieux workshops, XVIth and XVIIth century. (From the Château of Ecouen, and of la Bâtie).

Through a wide arched bay let into the Roman wall, west side, the Salle des Thermes is discovered.

HOT BATHS

The Romans had imported into Gaul their custom of frequent ablutions, but the barbarian invasions razed to the ground the thermes and villas, and our ancestors ceased bathing for many centuries. The Crusades, which brought the West into contact with the East, introduced tastes for luxury and hygiene which modified manners. It was then that hot baths were established. They were numerous and prosperous in the large towns during the Middle Ages. Men and women bathed naked, but alternately, which did not prevent public morals from suffering thereby, and in the XIII century a decree was issued forbidding the same establishments to be used by both sexes. The prescription was doubtlessly not observed for long, as in the XIVth century the hot-baths were again very ill-famed. In the XVth century, the Church preached against their « lowness, lewdness, and impurity »; in the XVIth, feasts and banquets took place therein; in the XVIIth, « pillar of a hot-bath » was an insult; by the end of the century, those establishments had fallen into such dis-

repute that honorable people abstained from entering them. Uncleanliness was remarkable during the sumptuous reign of Louis XIV; this lack of care lasted until the influence of English habits induced the French to attend to a few sanitary observances.

In front of the bay looking on to the Salle des Thermes :

Railing of wrought and gilt iron. Italian art, beginning of the XVIIIth century.

Bust of a child, by Pigalle (1714-1785).

Stove lids of Moulins and Paris ware, XVIIIth century.

Returning to corridor XIII, the visitor finds at his right

Balcony XV — Italian Ware

In wall-cases on the right of the entrance :

Faënza ware of the XVth and XVIth centuries; large dishes, small dishes, small pharmacy pots decorated with figures; cups, ewers, godrooned porringers, church dishes, crested dishes, loving-cups, paving-tiles.

West side, in two cases, right and left of the steps :

Large and small dishes with blue metallic reflections, **Deruta** workshops, XVIth century (founded about 1500).

South side case, on right of bay :

Gubbio ware, with red metallic reflections, decorated with figures, portraits and mottos. XVIth century founded about 1500).

Dishes and **pharmacy vases**, from Castel-Durante, decorated with figures, arabesques, instruments of music, etc., XVIth century (founded at end of XVth century).

South side case, on left of bay :

Large and **small dishes** from **Urbino** and **Pesaro**, decorated with Pompeian designs, figures, mythological and

Old Testament scenes (founded at the end of the XVth century; flourished in the XVIth century; artistic decline in the middle of the XVIIth century).

East side, in two cases :

Dishes, porringers, pots and covers, table utensils and figurines from **Urbino** and **Pesaro**, XVIth and XVIth century.

Dishes, cups, and pots from factories which copied the Urbino style (**Lyons** and **Nevers** factories, XVIIth and XVIIIth century.

In the middle of the wall :

The Virgin adoring the Infant Christ. Large low-relief of glazed terra cotta, ascribed to Andrea della Robbia, XVth century.

Pilaster of glazed terra cotta. Della Robbia school.

On the right and left :

Two large low-reliefs of glazed terra cotta : Faith and Temperance, by Luca della Robbia, XVth century.

Saint John as a child. Bust of glazed terra cotta, by Andrea della Robbia, XVth century.

The **Martyrdom of saint Catherine**. Two low-reliefs from the della Robbia school, XVIth century.

From the same school : head of a negress; an angel as torch-bearer ; a piper ; the Virgin and Child.

Saint Antony the great, a disc of painted earthen-ware.

In a small case :

Terra cotta articles, glazed and not. Italian art, XVIth century.

North side, near the entrance, in a wall-case :

Italian ware, from various factories : **Venice, Castelli, Naples**, XVIIth and XVIIIth century.

Balcony XVI

Oriental and Hispano-Moresque Ware

On the left of the entrance, in cases against the north partition :

Hispano-moresque Ware of the XIVth, XVth and XVIth centuries.

Large dishes and **ewers**, of exceptional value and remarkable beauty, from the **Majorca** and **Valencia** factories.

On the right of the entrance :

Dishes, ewers, various utensils, from the workshops of **Manisès, Majorca, Malaga ;** XVIth and XVIIth century.

Azulejos (paving-tiles and facing-tiles). Spanish art, XVth, XVIth and XVIIth century.

In cases against the east and west partitions :

Collection of dishes, plates, cups, vases and ewers, from **Rhodes** (Lindos workshops) ; XVth and XVIth century. Articles with polychromatic decorations of conventional flowers, animals, boats, and scales ; several picked out with gold-leaf ; others (very rare, in western case) with personages ; one of them, clothed after the Turkish fashion, holds a book showing the lamentations of a prisoner mourning for his liberty.

South side, at the far end, on the left, in a wall case :

Two Syrian vases, XIIIth century. Exceptionally rare pieces.

Two Syrian vases, XIVth century.

Vases and porringers, from **Cyprus,** XIVth and XVth centuries.

Large bowl, from **Kutaïeh,** XVIth century.

Facing-tiles, Damask and **Persian** earthenware, XVIth and XVIIth centuries.

South side, right hand case :

Dishes and plates, Rhodes ware (doubtful), XVth and XVIth centuries, with bowls, porringers, vases, perfume burners, candlestick feet, etc., of copper engraved, nielloed or damascened with silver, from the workshops of **Mosul, Egypt, Venice**, etc. ; XIVth to XVIIIth century.

Between these two cases :

Stained glass windows and fragments (composite pieces). French art, XVIth and XVIIIth century.

Room XVII — Enamels

First high case, towards the southern end of the room :

Champlevé enamels of Limoges, XIIth to XIVth centuries.

« CHAMPLEVÉ » ENAMELS

Enamel is a vitrifaction coloured by means of metallic oxides; opaque or translucent, according to the addition or lack of oxide of tin, it is applied cold to pottery or metals (copper, silver, gold, iron) and is vitrified in furnaces. Its origin is unknown and its use dates far back into antiquity. The Gauls knew of it, perhaps it was revealed to them by the volcanoes of Auvergne, for volcanic stones are often an enamel.

Several kinds of enamels are to be found in gold and silverwcrks. The *cloisonnés* (partitioned), in which the design is formed of thin strips of metal soldered edgeways to the face of the plate which serves as a base, the enamel paste being laid in the cells thus obtained.

Another kind of enamel, is the *champlevé*, in which the plate itself is hollowed out with an engraver, the sides being left projecting, in such a way that the *champ* (field) is *levé* (raised) or embedded. Again there are the *translucent enamels on sunk relief* in which the metal, mostly precious, cast or incised in low-relief, is enhanced with translucent enamels. Then the *painted enamels* in which the pictorial compositions are executed on the smooth plate. Others that may be mentioned are the

enamels à jour (in openwork) and the enamels in *résille de verre* (glass net) which are exceptional.

Antiquity, Byzance, the East and Far East employed the cloisonnés; the champlevés were utilised in the Middle Ages particularly from the XIIth to the XIVth century, at Limoges, on the banks of the Rhine; also in Spain. Painted enamels appeared in the XVth century, in Italy and at Limoges; they flourished during the Renaissance and have continued up to our days.

Enamelled gold and silver work from Limoges, dating from long before the XIIth century, enjoyed universal vogue at that period; throughout all Christian countries, articles from the Limoges workshops were sought for by everyone and penetrated even into China.

The technique of this craft present several successive phases. During the first part of the XIIth century, enamels were spread on metal, either plain, guilloched, or dotted, with the figures standing out entirely enamelled, enhanced with metallic features, the flesh being rosy-white. When it was later desired to impart more expression to the faces and more variety to the design, the naked portions were reserved and the features engraved thereon (end of XIIth century). Soon after, a new process substituted heads in relief for the engraved ones, and those were either cast or carved, and then rivetted to the plate. Finally, entire figures in high-relief, and even in the round were added and fastened after the enamelling.

The colourings likewise varied; to begin with, blue was predominant, above all, lapis-lazuli blue (unlike the Rhenish enamels, which were frequently characterised by their green grounds). In the XIVth century, the blue became very bright, and stood out against vivid reds. Perhaps, it is permissible to ascribe this radical transformation of taste to foreign influences. (The Black Prince and the English were reigning at Bordeaux. Spain, on the other hand, was producing enamels of a similar colouring).

About that period, Limoges no longer worked for churches alone, but produced also various ornaments and utensils for the use of private persons. This popularisation of success, completed a decline which had been evident from the beginning of the century. The influence of the princes, the uncles of Charles VI, and a growing taste for luxury, very soon turned public favour towards the *translucent on sunk relief* enamels

which first came to France from Italy. The ancient Limogse glory had broken down, but it rose again almost immediately through its school of painted enamels (See further on, same room).

The Adoration of the Magi ; Saint Nicholas speaking to Monseigneur Étienne de Muret. Two plaques of Limoges champlevé enamel, end of XIIth century. From the Abbey of Grandmont, near Limoges.

Small shrine and fragments of a shrine with a vermiculated ground. Limoges champlevé enamel, end of XIIth century.

The Crucifixion. Cambered plaque, champlevé enamel. Rhenish art, XIIth century.

Shrine of Thomas-à-Becket. Limoges champlevé enamel, about 1220.

Shrine of Saint-Sebastian. Same origin and period.

Christ triumphant. Book-cover plaque. French art, Limoges, end of the XIIth century.

Large shrine (with heads in relief). Limoges champlevé enamel, beginning of the XIIIth century.

Two large shrines of Saint Fausta (with figures in relief). Limoges champlevé enamel, XIIIth century. From the treasury of Segry.

Two gospel covers (with applied enamelled figures). Limoges champlevé enamel, XIIIth century.

Two altar panels. Same style, origin and period.

Processional **cross.** Limoges champlevé enamel. First half of the XIIIth century.

Eucharistic **dove.** Limoges champlevé enamel, XIIIth century.

Small shrine (dark blue, red and green enamels). Limoges or Spain, XIVth century.

Processional **cross** (dark blue, red and pale green enamels). Limoges, XIVth century.

In a flat glass case, near by, south side :

Pieces of harness and bridle bits, of enamelled bronze. French or Spanish art, XIVth century.

Suspension chain (?) of enamelled bronze. Spanish (?) art, XIVth century.

Collection of annulets with swinging centres. France, Spain and Italy, from the XIIIth to the XVth century.

Hawk varvels, same periods. These objects are extremely rare. They were affixed to the hawk's foot.

Opposite, in front of the tapestry, stand two flat glass cases: in one :

Inlaid figures of chased and gilt bronze. French art, Limoges, XIIIth century.

Two gemellions (washing basins). Limoges champlevé enamel, XIIIth century.

Two portable altars. German art, XIth and XIIth century.

PORTABLE ALTARS

On the one hand, the piety of our ancestors, and on the other the frequency of wars, notably at the time of the Crusades, required the use of portable altars for the armies in the field and their leaders. Just as the fixed altar in churches was erected, whenever possible, over the grave of a saint, so did the portable altar logically consist of a reliquary, to which the consecrated stone was adapted, and the gold or silver mountings were often of very high value.

In the other :

Transformations of the **Cross** and the **Crucifix,** from the VIth to the XVIIth century.

CROSSES AND CRUCIFIXES

The figure of Christ on the Cross has not always occupied a preponderant position in churches and religious ceremonies; the acceptance of this symbol was both very laborious and very slow.

At the beginning of the christian era, no image of the Crucifixion either had appeared or could appear. The early Christians, actuated by caution in the midst of persecutions, also by the execration of idolatry and by idealism, abstained from all direct representation of the Redeemer. They evoked him symbolically with some sign or figure which were intelligible to the initiated alone : sometimes a *tau*, T, which recalled the cross, was placed in the middle of a word as an out-standing letter : sometimes a Fish was designed or engraved because the Greek word meaning fish (Ιχθυς) is composed of the five letters which are the initials of the five words « Jesus-Christ, God's Son, Saviour ». More generally and for a longer period, the mystic image of the Lamb served to represent Jesus. As for reproducing the scene of the Crucifixion, the idea would have caused horror, purely and simply, and such indignant horror as was likely to spring from this idea only began to weaken at the beginning of the IVth century, when punishment by crucifying, which was reserved for slaves, was abolished. Even then Minutius Felix wrote : « We do not worship crosses at all, and we have no desire to see them ». About 305, the Council of Eliberis still considered it wise to forbid all kinds of pictorial reproductions.

Second period : this began in 312, in the reign of the emperor Constantine. Before the battle which was to decide the fate of Christianity, a cross appeared in the sky : *In hoc signo vinces*. The victory announced by this wonder took place. Thenceforth, the cross was officially adopted, but as an emblem of the victory which the Saviour of men had finaly won over Satan, and not as an instrument of the Passion : it was the Greek cross of the *labarum*, bare, with equal arms and without any human figure thereon. Even at that period, too precise an evocation of the infamous punishment undergone by the Redeemer would have seemed irreverent ; by reproducing such an image, the Christians might believe they were still associating themselves with the insult which the Jews had paid to the Son of God.

In the Vth century, a more serious reason intervened and it was no longer a question of sentiment ; dogma itself was in peril. The heresy of the Nestorians had just appeared. They pretended that they recognised two distinct natures in Christ, the one divine and the other human. There followed the long and violent quarrel of the *iota* : Omoiousia against Omoousia. Is Jesus God himself or is he sent from God and,

identical with Him? This discussion, which was so dangerous and extended for some time, no longer left scope for any of those human figurations which might appear to prove that the heretics were right.

Nevertheless, several figures of Christ on the Cross appeared in the VIth century (manuscripts, church pictures), but they were very rare and sometimes created a scandal : Saint Gregory, then Bishop of Tours, relates the drama caused at Narbonne about 593, by the appearance of a picture of this kind, probably imported from the East, and which had to be veiled.

At the end of the VIIth century, the Council of Constantinople (692) formally prescribed that « Christ should be represented in the flesh, living, suffering and dying for our salvation ». But this decision was arrived at by the Eastern bishops alone ; those of the West categorically refused their cooperation, and the decision was not ratified by the Pope. The dissension was very marked and it even created a fresh schism. Passions were aroused, for and against.

At the beginning of the VIIIth century, in 726, in the reign of Theodosius, passions reached such a pitch that they provoked the heresy of the Iconoclasts, who ruthlessly broke all the sacred images. This heresy found official support : the emperor Leo ordered the destruction of what he considered to be idols. The quarrel lasted for quite a length of time : monks from the East, who fled from persecution, took refuge in the West, and it was probably thus that the type of Christ clothed in the long *colobium* which characterised the first Syrian crucifixes, was brought to France.

When the council of Nicæa, in 787, hurled an anathema against the Iconoclasts and reiterated the injunction to show the punishment of the Saviour, feelings of hereditary reluctance were not yet conquered.

But then and there, the principle was established, only consent was lacking. This was given little by little, slowly and unevenly, according to the countries. It required no less than three hundred years.

In this way, the XIth century is found to be, in reality, the period of transition wherein crosses are met with which are contemporary with one another, and by means of which the two formerly hostile doctrines were simultaneously affirmed, one seeking to show the Crucifix and the other still refusing to do so.

At the end of the XIth century and the beginning of the XIIth, the use of the Cross tended to become general.

Nevertheless, showing God in physical grief or in humility, seemed unbecoming, and for this reason we see on the figure of Christ, the hieratic and impassive character which it preserved throughout the Romanesque period. Furthermore, the crucified One remained living, with his head high and upright, his body straight and his feet in juxtaposition. He appears to stand before the Cross rather than to hang on it ; on his head a royal crown was substituted for the insulting crown of thorns, which had been given him in derision by the enemies of the faith. Besides, the West alone decided to carve such images, the East only dared to paint them.

By an identical feeling of reverence, the Son of God for a long while was only seen clothed in the long robe with sleeves which fell down to his feet.

In the course of the XIIth century the sleeves disappeared, at least in France. Then the trunk was bared in its turn, and a kind of skirt covered the lower limbs. In the XIIIth century, this skirt very soon was shortened, at the end of the XIIIth and in the XIVth century it no longer was but a cloth tied around the loins.

For a long while also the Redeemer was required to be beardless, and that type of Christ, still the official one in the Vth century, underwent several changes from that time, but it prevailed up to the beginning of the XIIth century. After that, the shape and importance of the beard (round, pointed or with two points) varied according to the period.

Primarily, the feet were fixed separately by means of two nails; the texts of the Roman period would appear to confirm the probable correctness of such an iconography, and the Fathers of the Church were in agreement thereon ; Saint Cyprian amongst others, formally decided in favour of this doctrine. However, in the XIIIth century, it became the subject of a controversy, the point being as to whether there were four nails or only three. The supporters of the new theory gained in number. It may be admitted that a vision of Saint Bridget about 1373, may have had an influence on the final decision ; from that time the *suppedaneum* disappeared and the two feet were superposed, pierced together with a single nail. However, the Limousine enamellers did not completely renounce the ancient tradition of the four nails, and this was maintained

amongst them up to the XIVth century. This peculiarity did not in any way tend to affirm an opinion, it merely marked the persistence of professional routine.

But a much more significant modification took place in the XIVth century; the figure of Christ, which in the XIIIth century had already lost the hieratic character it possessed in the Romanesque period tended to become more and more human. Towards the end of the XIIth century, and as soon as the robe had been lowered, leaving the trunk bare, the Limousin artists had already given to the body of the crucified Deity, a thinness which the Rhenish enamellers refused to give. This incipient humanisation became more marked in the course of the XIIIth century, which was both so pious and so human, so deeply moved and so moving, the only century in the Middle Ages which knew how to look upwards to God and to bend towards Man with all its heart.

The heart-rending misery of the XIVth century, with its grief and pain, had given mens' minds a leaning towards pity. The face of Christ on the Cross bore signs of this prepossession. The crucified One, who thitherto had remained living, with brilliant eyes of black enamel, now stood dead; his limbs and bust showed the yielding of a corpse; at the same time, the royal crown disappeared and the crown of thorns resumed the position it had lost for thirteen centuries.

Realism increasing in the same proportions as mysticism decreased, the hanging body showed all the cramping signs of agony.

The Renaissance, being of smaller faith and very much preoccupied with plastic art, sought above all to present beauty to us : rather than a God, a man was then figured.

Spain, being excessive by nature, and having been through the rough school of the Dominican Inquisition, exaggerated suffering to the extent of making horror of it.

On the contrary, under the opposite influence of the Jesuits who set themselves to teach souls by gentleness and guide them towards dreamery, the face of Christ again tended towards idealism, but with an art and prettiness that the ages of profound piety had never known.

Another particularity, however, occurred towards the end of the XVIIth century, provoked by the Jansenists and the theory of Grace; men are not all called to God alike : He chooses His elect. Therefore the Jansenist Christ, instead of

stretching his arms wide open towards the whole of humanity, raised his hands above his head, as if to bless. Since every Jansenist was to have made with his own hands the crucifix before which he prayed, that period has left us a very large number of images very roughly carved with a knife out of ox or sheep bones. Sometimes it also happened that a Jansenist who felt that he did not possess the required artistic talents, simply took a XIIIth century bronze crucifix or a XVth century dinanderie one, and twisted the arms so as to give them the attitude which his sect had imposed.

From the reign of Louis XIV and during the whole of the XVIIIth century, the number of crucifixes increased to such an extent that trade was not slow in substituting its own products for works of art and faith.

To sum up : eleven centuries were necessary to bring Europe to admit the idea, at first irreverent, of representing Christ on the Cross. Even then he was required to be shown living, clothed in a royal garment and crowned with gold. Three more centuries were needed after this, in order that christianity should gradually adopt the grief-stricken image of the crucified One, dead, unclothed, and bleeding, crowned with thorns, his loins girdled with a cloth and his feet superposed. The crucifix, such as we see it to-day, thus dates from five hundred years ago.

THE DOUBLE CROSS

The cross with a double cross-piece is a Byzantine invention which remained for a long time peculiar to the Orientals ; its origin is due to a misapprehension, the upper cross-piece being only the inscription-board primarily nailed above Christ, by order of Pontius Pilate. From the XIIIth century, this form appeared in France, but only rarely ; it was probably brought back from the Crusades. Besides, in religious or heraldic decorations, the forms of the cross have undergone many modifications, according to the periods and countries (Greek cross, *tau*-cross, Latin, anchor-shaped, trefoil-shaped, gallow-shaped, haloed, Maltese cross, Saint-Andrew's cross, etc).

The visitor, on facing the large bay-window, will find a series of cases wherein are exhibited the

Painted enamels from Limoges.

PAINTED ENAMELS

The processes of this art equally present several phases : To begin with, a painting in grisaille, which was obtained by means of shading enamels was covered over with transparent enamels which gave it various colorations; hatchings, carried out with a brush and shell-gold, enhanced it and recalled the metallic parts of the old champlevés. Later, about 1520, the grisailles appeared; they were obtained by a first layer of dark enamel, fixed by means of a first firing and on which the design is worked in white (second firing), being finally retouched, reinforced, gilt or otherwise (third firing). Finally, regular pictures were executed, direct on the plaque, with enamel pastes of various colours.

The origin of *painted enamels* is doubtful and several points in the history of this art remain obscure ; *Montvaerni*, who was for a long time considered the oldest of the Limousin-artists, never existed. The works which are ascribed to him, only date back to the last quarter of the xvth or even the beginning of the xvith century. Our information is only precise dating from Nardon Pénicaud (1495). From that time it is observed, as in the period of the *champlevés*, that families of artists constituted, from father to son, regular dynasties which went on working for three centuries: the Penicauds, Noüailhers, Courts, Courteys, Limosins, Papes, Laudins, etc. This second Limoges school flourished in the xvith century and produced masterpieces ; the Cluny collections enable us to trace their decline, which was already apparent in Louis XIII's time and fully characterised under Louis XIV. What formely was an art had then become a mere trade. Soon after Limoges only remembered its ancient glory to the extent of making common plates.

In the first flat case :

Pieta. Painted enamel, known as Montvaerni's. French art. Limoges, late xvth century.

The Virgin and Child. Limoges, end of xvth century.

Calvary. Painted enamel, by Nardon Pénicaud. Limoges, 1503. (The only work by this artist that is signed and dated).

Mater dolorosa, ascribed to Jean I Pénicaud. Limoges, early XVIth century.

Diptych. Christ and the Virgin, by the same.

Christ bearing the Cross and **Calvary**, ascribed to Jean I Pénicaud. Early XVIth century.

Triptych (Central panel, the Adoration of the Magi; leaves, the Holy Family and the Presentation in the Temple). Workshop of the Pénicauds.

In the second high case :

Eleven oval medallions; painted enamels representing scenes from the Passion, by Leonard Limosin, about 1550.

Portrait of Queen Eleonor (wife of Francis I, and sister of Charles V) by Leonard Limosin, dated 1536. This piece of work and the two following ones bear witness to the mastership of the illustrious enameller; they mark the zenith of an art which was soon to degenerate.

Portraits of Claude of Lorraine, duke of Guise, and of Antoinette of Bourbon, his duchess, by Leonard Limosin. From the hospice of Joinville.

Collection of cups, plates, goblets; Limoges, XVIth century, workshops of the Reymonds, Pénicauds, Courteys, Mourets, Laudins, etc.

Scenes from the Old and the New Testament. Painted enamels by Couly Noylier, the Reymonds, etc., XVIth century.

In a flat glass-case :

Composite **triptych** showing, in central panel, Catherine de' Medici, a widow, in her oratory; artist unknown; in the leaves, medallions in grisaille by Jean III Pénicaud, polychromatic medallions by Pierre Reymond. XVIth century.

Painted **enamels** in grisaille, Limoges work, XVIth century, by Pierre Reymond, Jean III Pénicaud, Pierre Courteys.

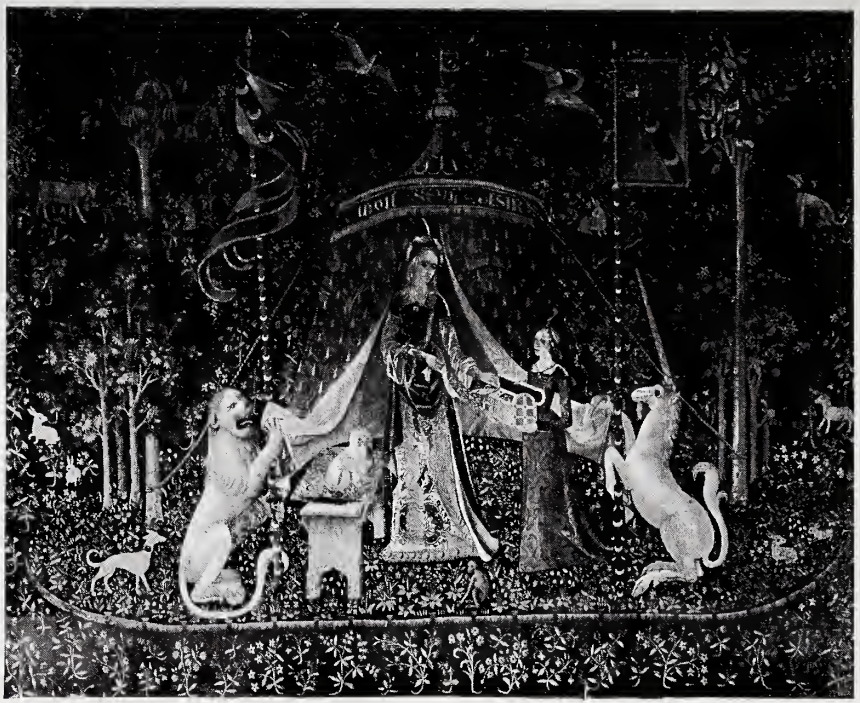
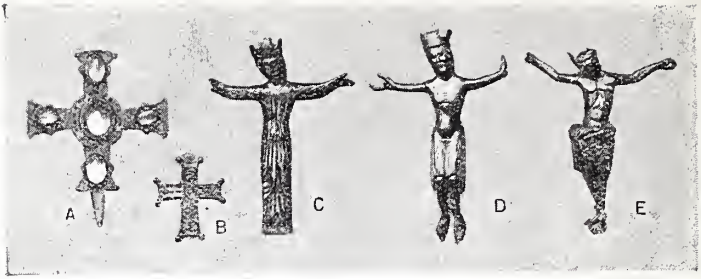


Photo Braun.

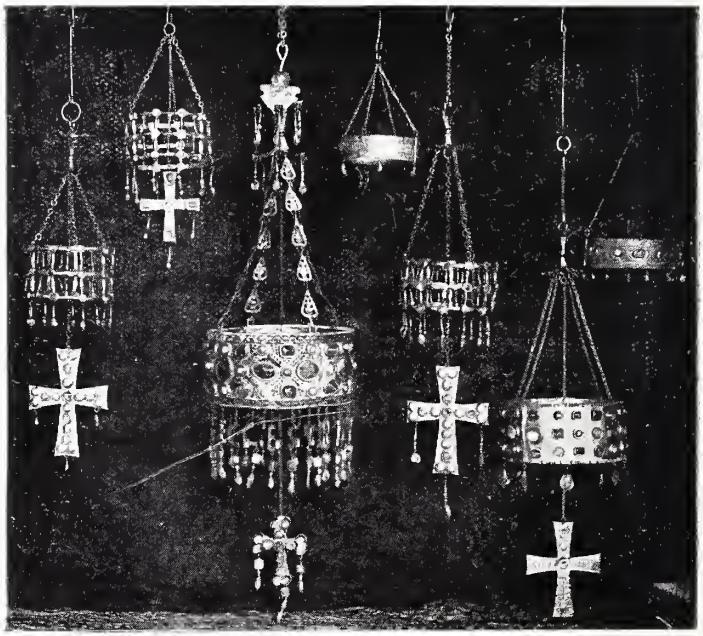
THE LADY WITH THE UNICORN.

French tapestry. *(Late XVth century.)*



TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE CROSS AND CRUCIFIX.

A, St-Radegund's cross. *(VIth cy.)* — B, A Crusader's cross. *(XIth cy.)* — C, Crucifix, Limoges champlevé enamel. *(XIIth cy.)* — D, Crucifix, Limoges champlevé enamel. *(XIIIth cy.)* — E, Bronze crucifix. *(XIVth cy.)*



CROWNS OF VISIGOTH KINGS. *(VIIth century.)*

In the third tall case, against the window :

Translucent **enamels**, on engraved gold, silver, or copper. Italian art, XVth and XVIth century.

Painted Limoges **enamels**, XVIth century, by Couly Noylier, Pierre Reymond, H. Poncet, Martin Didier.

Painted Limoges **enamels**, end of the XVIth and XVIIth century, by Suzanne de Court, Noel I Laudin, and Jacques II Laudin.

Cups, caskets, salt-cellars; Limoges enamels, XVIth century.

Cups, goblets, candlesticks, salt-cellars; **Venetian, Russian** and **English** enamels of the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries.

In two flat cases, in the north-east corner, near the fire-place :

Plates and **medallions, tobacco-graters, purse-plates**, etc. Painted enamels of the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries, by Noel I, Noel II and Jacques II Laudin, Pierre II, Joseph and Jean Baptiste Nouailher.

Paxes, and decorative fragments. French, Italian and German enamels, of the XVIth and XVIIth centuries.

Turning his back on the fire-place and going down the room again, the visitor reaches, in front of the tapestry and at the bottom of the room, five square cases :

Devotional gold and silver-work from the XIth to the XVIIIth century.

First square case, on the right of the entrance :

Two crosses of chased and gilt bronze, German art, one of the end of the XIth century, the other of the end of the XIIth.

The four rivers of Paradise, a bible-cover in open-work copper, chased and gilt. French art, XIIth century.

Inlaid figures, the Last Supper, the Flagellation, the Virgin, a Deacon, etc., Limoges work, XIIIth century.

THE LAST SUPPER

During the course of the last meal which he took with his twelve disciples before going to be sentenced, Christ announced his coming death. The popular belief according to which one of the guests, when there are thirteen at table, will die during the year, is certainly a reminiscence of this meal and prophecy.

Abbatial and episcopal **Croziers** of the XIIth and the XIIIth centuries.

Christ (beardless) blessing. Limoges, XIIIth century.

Small reliquary in the shape of a chapel. French art. XIIIth century.

Second square case, on the left of the entrance :

The Virgin and Child, a chased and gilt bronze group, French art, beginning of the XVth century. A reliquary was later on added, on the Child's stomach, with the inscription « De umbilico domini Jesu Christi ».

Shrine of St. Anne, by Hans Greiff, of Nuremberg, 1472. On a canopied cathedra, made of chased silver, are three figures in repoussé, gilt and painted silver : Saint Anne, seated, holds on her knees the Virgin and the Infant Christ who presents the reliquary.

Foot-shaped reliquary of Saint Alard ; gilt bronze, Italian art, 1331.

Reliquary borne by two angels. French art, XVth century (Partly restored).

Third square case near the exit :

The Virgin of Moussac. Limoges champlevé enamel, beginning of the XIIIth century.

A saint seated. Large inlaid figure. Limoges work, XIIIth century.

Saint Stephan. Statuette of gilt bronze. French art, XIVth century.

The Virgin and Child. Gilt bronze. French art, XIVth century.

Episcopal **croziers.** Limoges champlevé enamel, XIIIth century.

Ciboria and pyxes of Limoges and Spanish champlevé enamel, XIIIth and XIVth century.

Fourth square case, at the bottom of the room, on the left :

Crozier from the Abbey of Bernay. French art, XIVth century.

Ciborium of gilt bronze. French art, XIVth century.

Two shrines of chased, open-worked, and gilt silver. Silver-work from Bale, about 1500.

Monstrances, chalices, ciboria, etc., from the XIIIth to the XVIIth century.

Fifth case, at the bottom of the room, on the right :

Shrines, ciboria, monstrances, paxes, thuribles, hand-warmers, etc., from the XIIIth to the XVIIth century.

[HAND-WARMERS

The hand-warmer, or « chauffette », was a hollow ball of copper or silver, provided with small chains, which rendered it more easily transportable. Inside it, an arrangement of concentric circles with counteracting pivots constituted a regular jointed suspension, which was intended to prevent the upsetting of the burning charcoals or red-hot iron pellets which provided the heat. When the use of earthenware spread, another kind of hand-warmers made its appearance, and those were more convenient and less costly. They were mere earthen vessels, filled with hot water and generally in the shape of a book. Those hand-warmers were mainly used by church people during the long winter services. In this particularity may be found the etymology of the name *moine*, which the French bed-warmers go by to-day.

Against the wall, at the bottom of the room, in front of the fire-place :

Large retable of repoussé and gilt copper, enhanced

with enamels, representing Pentecost. Rhenish (?) art, late XIIth century. From Coblentz.

Funeral plate of engraved and enamelled copper. Flemish art, 1535.

Nine large plates (pagan divinities and allegorical figures). Painted enamel by Pierre Courteys, 1559. Supposed to come from the château of Madrid (Bois de Boulogne).

Processional **cross** of the great Carmelites of Paris. French art, XVth century.

PROCESSIONAL CROSSES

In the Middle Ages, the crucifix did not remain permanently exhibited on the altar; the officiating priest put it there himself, to celebrate Mass; during certain ceremonies it was carried round the church or outside : for these processions, it was adapted to a staff just as, during Mass, it was adapted to a stand.

Against the wall, opposite the windows :

Six tapestries, known as **the Lady with the Unicorn**, French art, end of the XVth century. These hangings, which bear the coat of arms of the Le Viste family, come from the chateau of Boussac. Many fanciful legends have been inspired by these celebrated tapestries. The crescents which appear in the crest once fostered the belief that they were a souvenir of Zim-Zizimi, who was the guest of Pierre d'Aubusson, lord of the Manor of Boussac, in 1482. The shield is now identified : the simultaneous presence of two heraldic animals (the lion, symbol of force, for the nobility of the sword, and the unicorn, symbol of incorruptibility, for the nobility of the robe) merely stands for the alliance of two families, one of which belongs to the sword, and the other to the robe. Taken as a whole, this work was probably designed for a demoiselle Le Viste on the occasion of her marriage, and seems to illustrate an allegory of the five senses, conforming in a great degree to the spirit of the period : Sight (the lady is presenting

a mirror to the unicorn), Hearing (the lady is playing an organ), Taste (the lady is offering nuts to the parrot and the monkey is eating a cherry), Smelling (the lady is plaiting garlands of flowers, and the monkey is plucking a rose to pieces), Feeling (the lady is touching the unicorn and the staff). The sixth tapestry, of more considerable dimensions, would appear to represent, if not a sixth sense, at least the homage to her who charms all the senses together : « My only desire ». — This set of tapestries was purchased by the Museum in 1882.

TAPESTRY

Tapestry is a work in which coloured threads (generally of wool or silk) constituting the web, are woven across other threads (generally flax) which constitute the warp ; the combination of lines and colours thus produces pictures which make up the texture itself; therein tapestries differ from embroideries, where the decoration is added to some material already existing.

In tapestries called *haute lisse* (high warp), the warp is vertical and the web horizontal ; the worker, placing himself between his work and his model or *cartoon*, reproduces the latter by means of measurements which he marks on the warp. On the contrary, in *basse lisse* (low warp), the warp is horizontal and the web vertical and the worker, placing his task between himself and his model, only examines the latter through the warp, following it mechanically, as if he were tracing it. The *haute lisse* thus gives a direct reproduction of the original picture, and the *basse lisse* an inverted reproduction. The second method is much more rapid and less costly than the other and produces works of art which are less perfect, but technically it is almost impossible to distinguish the first from the second. The weaving is begun at the base. In the Gobelins workshops (Paris), the daily work of one man barely produces more than one square metre per year. Tapestries, which were one of the luxuries of the Middle Ages, thus represented a considerable expense.

The *haute lisse* was known to antiquity ; Egyptian paintings dating from three thousand years before our era stand as proof thereof, as well as the decorations on Greek vases. Copt tapestries of the IIIrd and IVth centuries are numerous. In the XIIth century, the « haute lisse » processes tended to spread

throughout the West, but the revival of this art only manifested itself, really, in the XIIIth century. Paris then became the centre of a production which, in the XIVth century, rivalled that of Flanders ; Charles V and his brothers, the three terrible and magnificent dukes, gave to this art, as well as to all arts of luxury, an impetus which was kept up by Charles VI, the mad king. During that reign, Nicolas Bataille of Paris, began the admirable *Apocalypse* of Angers, which was only completed at the end of one hundred and fourteen years, under Charles VIII. The Arras tapestries were the most famous, so much so that their name became a generic term and served to describe all works of « haute lisse » origin, no matter from what country they came. In 1386, Jean sans Peur, who had been taken prisoner by Bajazet at Nicopolis, redeemed himself by means of a ransom of *Arrazzi*. Up to the XVth century the tapestry designs were inspired solely by religious subjects, but the XVth century added secular ones, and landscapes appeared at the same time. The tapestries gained in ingenuity but lost in grand simplicity; gold and silver threads were introduced into the web. Meanwhile, Germany and the south of France established famous workshops, and Brussels produced masterpieces. Italy, having sent for Flemish workmen, began to learn the art and set itself to reproduce the works of its own painters, Raphael himself designed « cartoons ». Under this influence, tapestries became true pictorial compositions, and henceforth this character went on increasing. Towards 1535, Francis I established the first royal manufactory at Fontainebleau, under the direction of Babou de la Bourdaisière; in 1597, Henry IV set up looms in rue Saint-Antoine and soon after in the Louvre itself; in 1662, Louis XIV founded the Gobelins and, almost immediately after, the Savonnerie; two years later, Beauvais. Nowadays, the French « basse lisse » looms, are a speciality of Beauvais and Aubusson, just as those of « haute lisse » are peculiar to the Gobelins.

Our ancient tapestry weavers, particularly those of the XIIIth century, barely employed twenty tones; now, the chromatic scheme comprises 14,400 shades, and produces less pleasing results.

Underneath the tapestries, at the level of seats :

Misericords of pews, from a Picardy church. French art, about 1500.

At the bottom of the room :

Monumental **fire-place**, of carved and painted stone, decorated with grotesque figures and bas-reliefs representing the legend of the Santa Casa. On the two front panels are the two principal scenes ; on the left, the first episode ; the house in which the Virgin was born is carried off by angels who take it to Italy, crossing above the sea ; on the right, the fourth and last episode : the house is finally erected near Loretto, where pilgrims come to visit it. On the side-panels are two intermediary scenes. Right side, second episode : the Santa Casa is in the mountain haunted by brigands, two robbers are attacking a pedestrian and have thrown him to the ground, another is stopping a horseman. Left side, third episode : the Santa Casa is on a field belonging to the two brothers, who with the aid of armed escorts, are disputing the ground, whilst in the foreground of the same scene they are lying wounded and dying.

This fire-place is from rue Croix-de-Fer, Rouen. Franco-Italian art, first quarter of the XVIth century.

A **ceiling** and **two doors**, same period and origin.

Decorating the window, from left to right :

Stained window-piece of Saint Timothy, Rhenish art, XIIth century. From Reutviller (Alsace).

STAINED GLASS WINDOWS

Glass was for a long time too precious and too rare a material for any one to think of using it in window apertures. The Ancients used strips of mica called *specular stones*. When sheets of glass were first substituted for these, the luxury was exceptional ; portions of stained glass were evidently used long before entire window-panes. Indeed, the « gouttes » (patches) or plaques of glass were of limited dimensions ; therefore it was necessary to piece together collections of small bits, when it was desired to cover a comparatively important surface, and thus the idea occurred of putting these patch-pieces together in such a way that the whole

should constitute a design; moreover, they were often tinted to imitate the gems which they replaced in jewelry, and quite naturally, the colours were combined so as to obtain a polychromatic decoration. Floral designs and religious symbols very probably furnished the first models. The appearance of these transparent mosaics was hailed as a marvel. In the middle of the vth century, a poet sang the splendour and joy poured by the glass-windows of Saint-Sophia into the Byzantine basilica. A little later on, several churches at Rome also possessed stained glass-windows. Then, in the vith century, Bishop Gregory decorated Saint Martin's at Tours, with them; in the viith, they appeared in the cloister of Jumièges Abbey; in the viiith, they were to be found in England; in the ixth, Hincmar, Bishop of Reims, gave some to his newly built cathedral.

Dating from this period, an art had been created; experts wrote treatises; artists acquired renown; decorative compositions increased. At the end of the xth century, it was said that at Saint-Hubert, in the Ardennes, there were stained glass-windows whereon griffins could be seen amongst entwinings; in the xith century, the church of Saint Remi, at Reims, showed historical scenes. In 1134, abbot saint Bernard, an enemy of pomp, decided that the monks of Cluny should only have in their monastery windows that were « white, and without any cross, or colour ». Which indicates that the use of multicoloured window-panes, sumptuous though it was, tended to become general. Towards the same period, a school was established on the banks of the Rhine.

The art of painting on glass had likewise been created; it should not be confused with that of combining in juxtaposition pieces of glass that have already been tinted.

As a matter of fact, the development of the stained glass window was christian work; dates prove it, and logic corroborates the fact : this innovation and its progress answered a spiritual need. The mysticism of the Middle Ages was bound fervently to cultivate an art which helped it to expand. Into these radiant doorways which were pierced in the stone between the heaven of the blest and the earth of the wretched, this art introduced all its dreams and faith, its legends, and a moral beauty expressed by real splendour. A miracle and an enchantment, a joy to the eye and the soul, a flower of light blossoming forth amidst the shady

gardens of the cathedrals, amongst the trunks of leafy pillars, a rainbow-coloured opening through which human distress breathed prayer, an outlet of light through which faith rushed forth towards the invisible, and perhaps inaccessible heaven! The stained glass window is an enormous flower the calyx of which blooms forth above men's bowed heads, and which the eyes of the faithful, when raised towards God, meet like a promise of the dazzling splendour of Paradise; from its petals hope falls in rays; they shower a rain of aspirations on the people. The stained glass-window of the Christians is symbolical in a twofold way; it is the path along which God sends to them some of Heaven's magnificence, and the highway along which their vows wend their way towards the infinite. Heaven knows whether the Middle Ages, in their unending distress, were in need of hope; the song of the stained glass-window was their song of hope.

Eighteen **stained glass-windows** from the Sainte Chapelle of the Palace of Justice, Paris. French art, middle of the XIIIth century.

A secular **stained glass-window**, French art, XIVth century.

Sundry **stained glass-windows**, French and German art, XVth and XVIth century.

Crossing the balcony where the Hispano-Moresque ware is exhibited, the visitor finds, in the S.-E. corner, a door through which he gains access to

Room XVIII — Jewish Collection

In the middle of the room, in a flat glass-case :

Nearly all the objects exhibited in this and the other cases refer to the **Jewish religion.**

THE CONDITION OF THE JEWS

Already in the time of the Cæsars and in Rome itself, where they were numerous, the Jews lived in isolation; everywhere they spontaneously constituted small colonies,

and everywhere the hostility of the people banished them still further. This situation, which was already theirs amongst the pagan world, became still more pronounced in the Christian world, which considered them as hereditarily responsible for the death of the Saviour.

After the year One Thousand, when satanic terrors haunted men's minds, it was generally admitted that the Infidels, either Saracens or Jews, were incarnations of the Devil; to avenge God, Crusaders set forth against the former, but beforehand, and on the spot, the latter were exterminated. These massacres formed an intermittent custom in the Middle Ages; when the population was stricken with a scourge, they accused the Jews of being the effective or at least the moral cause of it; they were suspected in turns of attracting divine anger, spreading plague and leprosy, bewitching folks or beasts, poisoning fountains, carrying off and eating up children, or again of conspiring with the Saracens and lepers to destroy the Christians. Cruelties took place in periodical outbursts, but petty persecutions remained constant: since yellow was the colour of traitors, the Jews were obliged to wear, as a reminder of the betrayal of Christ by Judas, two round yellow patches like large cockades, which were sewn on the front and rear of their clothing; various social exclusions which were imposed upon prostitutes were applied to them in certain provinces; at Le Puy, law-suits between Jews were judged by choir-boys: at Toulouse, a Jew was buffetted on Passion Day. (Even nowadays, on Good Friday, in Catalonia, the children conduct a symbolical massacre of the Jews which consists in striking blows with a wooden mallet on the porch of the church). This state of social misery did not prevent the Jews from prospering; the importance of some of them was great, even in the XIIIth century; their commercial talents made them wealthy and they became the people's bankers, sometimes the sovereign's also. They seem to have, not invented, but introduced the bill of exchange, which probably was a means of personal defence amongst co-religionists against the fiscal persecutions and the expulsions that were regularly pronounced on them from the end of the XIIIth century onwards. Indeed, whilst royalty was occupied in its time-honoured struggle against feudalism (XIth-XVth century), and in proportion as power was being centralised and force amplified, kings needed and lacked money more and more; the coffers of the Jews and Lombards

were drained ; laws of expulsion were decreed, withheld, then enforced again, and thus added to the monetary fluctuations in order to procure for the king the resources which the regular taxes were unable to furnish him.

The frequent spoliations of the Jews during the Middle Ages account for the extreme rarity of Jewish gold and silver-work, previous to the XVIIth century. Besides, their art does not show any ethnic character; it never was but a work of assimilation, a product of local art adapted to the needs of the Jewish religion.

Hanoukiah (Wall-lamp with nine burners for the feast of the Maccabees). A piece of open-worked bronze, reproducing the triangular gable-end of a church (St-Martin-des-Champs ?). French art, XIVth century.

Tass (decorative plates for the scrolls of the Law), of repoussé and chased silver, gilt, filigraned bronze, etc. Dutch and German art, XVIIth and XVIIIth century.

Perfume boxes for Sabbatical ceremonies. Silver-work, XVIIth and XVIIIth century.

Engagement rings, from the XVIth to the XVIIIth century.

Indicating hands, for use when reading the Law, from the XVIIth to the XIXth century.

Cups and knives for circumcisions, XVIIth and XVIIIth century.

In front of the windows, in a flat glass-case :

Perfume boxes. Dutch and German art, XVIIth century.

Mesusah (a house-protector).

Meghilah (the story of Esther). This biblical text, rolled up in a cylinder of wood or precious metal, was found in most Jewish families, in order to remind them that God will protect his chosen people against their persecutors.

Hebrew **alphabet**, a stone engraved in relief.

Prayer-books, XVIIth and XVIIIth century.

In the other flat glass-case :

Textiles, for devotional use, embroidered silk, velvet and lawn ; veils for the scrolls of the Law ; circumcision cloths, bonnet, ephod, etc.

In the glass wall-cases :

Portable **tabernacle**, German art, 1707.

Hanoukiah, XVIIth century.

Candlestick, for the feast of the Maccabees. Flemish art, XVIIth century.

Wall **lamps** of bronze and silver ; XVIIth to XVIIIth century.

Perfume boxes, **goblets** (for the benediction), **crowns** for the Law scrolls.

Eastern **sepher**, of chased silver, **alms-cup and box**, etc.

Around the room :

Holy arch, **reader's desk**, **sepher**, **tabernacle cloth** ornamented with repoussé silver, marriage **contracts**, story of Esther.

Fire-place from a house at Le Mans. French art. Early XVth century. The polychrome painting is modern.

Room XIX — Music

Spinet, by Antonio Baffo. Venice, 1570.

Harpsichord, by Jean Rukers of Antwerp, about 1630.

Harpsichord, Vernis-Martin ornamentation. France, end of XVIIth century.

Violin, by Niccolo Amati of Cremona. (Amati, who died in 1684, was the master of Stradivarius and Guarnerius).

Kits, *i. e.* pocket-fiddles for dancing masters, XVIIth and XVIIIth century.

Psaltery, mandolines, guitars, hurdy-gurdy, etc.

On the walls :

French **tapestries**, end of the XVIth century ; the battle of St. Denis (1567) and the battle of Jarnac (1569). (See the third piece, corridor XIII).

Diptych, painted on wood : the Coronation of Louis XII. French art. Beginning of the XVIth century. On the left-hand panel, the Coronation of David ; on the right-hand panel, the Coronation of Louis XII, in the presence of the prescribed dignitaries, in Reims cathedral. When this precious document was discovered under the coat of paint with which it was daubed, it was being used as a fowl-house door.

Room XX, known as the Small Ceiling Room

Ceiling on canvas. French art, late XVIIth century.

Flemish and Dutch **furniture**, XVIth and XVIIth century,

Lustred earthenware, France, Switzerland, Germany. XVIth and XVIIth century.

Room XXI, known as Francis I's Chamber

THE CHAMBER

In the Middle Ages, one sole chamber served for every purpose, viz. sleeping, eating and receptions. There was a paved floor, covered in places with bulrushes or carpets, the walls were often wainscotted but always painted and sometimes enhanced with gildings ; at the bottom of the room stood the bed, closed in with curtains ; in front of the chimney-piece was a movable bench which could be turned round according to the needs of the particular hour of the day. The table was brought before it for meals, and on this bench were the places of honour, with « back to the fire, stomach to the table » ; against the walls were the chest, the « chaire » and the credence.

Here and there were stools and carpet-squares; humbler people often sat on the bare ground. All business was discussed in the Chamber of the lord or king, so much so that the name is still in use to day to indicate the various places in which State or other questions are discussed : Council Chamber, the Chambers (Parliament), Criminal Chamber (Court).

Originally, the sovereign would preside there, sitting on his bed (hence the phrase « Lit de justice »-Bed of justice). Dating from the XIVth century, the invasion of the chamber was such that an adjoining room was needed, a kind of alcove wherein one could « lie » at rest, and this was called the « retreat »; then the official Chamber in which was the bed, was called the « Chambre de parement » (State room). Those about to die laid themselves down there, visitors were received there, for the royal custom had spread, not only to the gentry, but to the middle class (see the article on the BED). It should be noted, however, that in most French houses, the kitchen, adorned with dinanderies that made it bright and gay, remained for a long while the room in which the guests gathered together with greatest willingness ; it retained this privilege from the XIVth to the XVth century, and was hardly forsaken until after the reign of Henry IV. The kings and lords were in the habit of « faire marcher les chambres », that is to say of taking on their travels, in enormous chests, no only their bed, but the other pieces of their personal furniture, including the draperies and silver-work, etc ; this was a costly fashion, above all in the XVth century when the princes' luxury was great ; it was a dangerous practice in time of war, when the pillaging of camps procured sumptuous booty for the victor ; after the battle of Granson (1476), the Swiss grew rich with the spoil taken from Charles the Bold. The fashion of always travelling with one's bed was moreover rendered necessary by the frequent uncleanliness of lodging places, and it lasted into the XVIIIth century.

XVIth century furniture :

Tables and **seats** of carved wood, **chests, double-bodied pieces of furniture** ; periods of Henry II, Charles IX Henry III. The bed, which is wrongly said to have belonged to Francis I, is only a decorative piece made up of various elements.

On the right of the fire-place :

Double-bodied piece of furniture from the abbey of Clairvaux. A remarkable piece of work of the last quarter of the XVIth century.

On a table :

The Presentation at the Temple. A marble group from the André Beauneveu school. French art, end of XIVth century.

On the walls :

Cordova leathers, of the XVIth century.

Hanging embroidered with wools and silks. French art, about 1600. This set of hangings consists of four pieces and adorned Sully's apartments, at the Arsenal, when he was a minister of Henry IV ; on each one is designed a mythological figure : Apollo, with Henry's features ; Saturn, is Antoine of Bourbon, the king's father ; Venus, Jeanne d'Albret, the king's mother ; Juno, queen Marie de' Medici (Two of these hangings are exhibited in Room XXII ; the fourth, in the case of the Holy Spirit).

Fire-place from a house at Le Mans (known as « de la Cour Poté »). French art, early XVth century.

Stained glass-windows from the church of Betton (Brittany). French art, early XVth century.

Room XXII, called the White Queen's Chamber

WHITE QUEENS

For fear of successional rivalries, and for other reasons too, the Council of Saragossa had decided, in 691, that the widows of kings should end their days in a cloister. Later on, this severe rule was extenuated and the queens were only required to submit to a seclusion of several months after the death of their husbands.

When Louis XII died, his widow was installed in the hôtel

of Cluny, and, since widowed queens wore white mourning, the « white queen » gave her name to the chamber which she is believed to have occupied at that time. Tradition relates an amorous adventure on her account, in which the chroniclers found some entertainment. When Anne of Brittany, second wife of Louis XII, died in 1514, the king, although he had evinced a violent grief, re-married almost immediately, taking as wife an English princess, Mary, sister of Henry VIII, who was then sixteen years old. Brantôme relates how the king then fifty-two years of age and ill, tried « to make himself a pleasing companion for his young wife ». He died therefrom in the third month, without leaving any issue. The branch of the Valois of Angoulême was thus called to the throne in the person of Francis I. It is conceivable that the queen regretted her down-fallen majesty ; a son and heir by the deceased king would have brought her back to the throne, so she pretended to be with child, bolstering up her dress « with linen cloths and rags ». In addition, her intimacy with an English gentleman, the Earl of Suffolk, ran the risk of transforming the fraud into more dangerous realities ; Francis I, warned of the peril by his mother Louise de Savoie, posted spies and had the hotel watched. The chronicle of scandal reports that one night, having been warned of the presence of the count in the widow's chamber, the king came in person to surprise them, and had them married on the spot, in the chapel of the abbots of Cluny. Whether this tale be authentic or fictitious, the fact is certain that the Queen of France became Countess of Suffolk and returned to England. It was the same Earl of Suffolk who later accompanied Henry VIII to the meeting in the Field of the Cloth of Gold (between Guines and Ardres, in Flanders, June 1520).

Furniture of the XVIIth century :

Bed and **armchairs** of the Marshal of Effiat (died 1632).

BEDS

The most various materials were utilised for the making of beds : stone, bronze, iron, and wood ; sometimes they were decorated with gold, or silver, or ivory, etc. This luxury was especially noticeable in the XIIth century. In the XIVth, beds became more roomy and grew still larger, reaching to over

four yards in width. Their frame was equally very high ; they were reached by means of a chest which was used as a footstep. It does not appear as though pillared beds came into use before the end of the xvth century ; up to then, plain curtains protected them from draughts. Nearly always a swinging night-light would burn at night, not so much to provide a convenient light as to scare away the apparitions of the Devil and ghosts which were so frequent in the xith century and still persisted after the Renaissance. Very often artists painted high officials lying on their bed and wearing their insignia, but this was purely symbolic, for everyone went to bed naked. This custom, which already existed in the time of Charlemagne, still continued in the xvith century and even into the xviith. The body was simply draped in a sheet or shroud. The double sheet only appeared at a much later date. Before entering the bed, the torch stuck on the chest or floor was extinguished. Sometimes also, valets or chambermaids, standing at the head of the bed, held a candle, waiting until their masters had fallen asleep. Rarely did anyone sleep alone ; kings themselves were in the habit of having a bed-companion ; Louis XIII was the first who dispensed with this custom. The promiscuousness of the bed reached its height in the xvith century, when hospitality was ordinarily offered in the conjugal bed, out of pure courtesy.

The lower middle classes and peasantry all slept together in one bed. In the hospitals, as late as 1620, three invalids were to be found sharing one bed, those about to die being alongside those dying, and without any distinction between the various diseases. The royal custom of remaining in bed to deal out justice (hence *Lit de justice*) dates back to far-off times ; the Idle Kings of the viith century did not originate it and doubtlessly it was an inheritance, in France, of Eastern rites. This custom imparted an air of nobility which sufficed to accredit it, so much so, that the middle classes adopted it in their turn; in the xivth century it was good manners to remain in bed to receive visitors. This fashion had been primarily the privilege of the recently confined woman ; for a fortnight she did herself the honour of gathering together in this way numerous gossips and entertained them (hence the phrases : *bedecked like a confined woman, a confined woman's gossiping*). Later, the custom spread to widows and then to newly-married ladies ; under Louis XIV, the latter were not only led with great pomp

to the nuptial couch, but they also remained there the whole of the morrow, their friends coming to offer them their congratulations. The habit of staying in bed to receive folks became general to such an extent that it was persistantly observed in the most ceremonious circumstances ; Richelieu, in his bed, awaited ambassadors.

It may still be noted in passing that, to avoid any substitution of the child, the French queens were obliged to give birth in public ; this decree, evidently of barbarian origin, was still in force in Louis XVIth's reign, since Marie-Antoinette was almost stifled to death by the crowd which had thronged into her bed-chamber.

Cabinets of ebony, inlaid with ivory. Spanish art, XVIIth century.

Florentine **cabinet** decorated with polychrome marble incrustations, together with a mirror in the same style, XVIIth century.

Large Venetian **mirror** of the XVIIth century.

Astronomical **clock**, English art, XVIIth century.

On the walls :

Two of the four **embroidered hangings** from Sully's apartments in the Arsenal (see the other two in room XXI and in the glass-case of the Holy Spirit). French art, about 1600.

Room XXIII — Chapel

On the walls :

Large retable of stone from the Sainte-Chapelle of **Saint-Germer** (Oise). French art, second half of the XIIIth century. Rectangular panel decorated with figures in high-relief. In the centre, under a depressed arch : Christ on the Cross between the Virgin and saint John. On either side of the central group : 1. Left, the Church ; right, the Synagogue. 2. Left, saint Peter ; right, saint

Paul. 3. Left, the Annunciation ; right, the Visitation. 4. Left, a scene from the legend of Saint-Ouen ; the saint cures a peasant whose right hand is paralysed because he has not rested on the Lord's Day. Beside this group, an archbishop. On the right, two scenes from the legend of Edward the Confessor, king of England, the king gives his ring to saint John the Evangelist who, disguised as a pilgrim, is asking him for alms ; a messenger, sent by saint John, brings back the ring to king Edward and warns him of his approaching death.

RETABLES

The retable, or reredos, is a vertical partition erected on the altar-table to embellish the rear of it; it was now a fixture and now movable. It may be supposed that, originally and for liturgical reasons, the high-altars of cathedral churches never possessed fixed retables, for these were proper to chapels and abbey churches. As a consequence of the transformation in service rituals, the movable retables gradually disappeared, and fixed retables became general towards the end of the XIVth century. They continued along the lines of the style of monumental statuary and were always decorated with religious scenes or figures. They were made of all kinds of material : gold, gilt silver and copper, enamels, stone, marble or alabaster, carved wood or painted panels, ivory, etc. The retable which is on the altar itself, should not be confused with the front portion of the altar or *tombstone* which serves as a base, and was thus named because, in early times, the altar was often erected on the tomb of a saint.

Bas-relief and **wall statuettes** of Yorkshire alabaster. English art, XVth century.

Reredos of Saint Peregrine or Saint Firmin (stone). French art, early XIVth century. In the centre, a Calvary ; on the left, the saint preaching ; on the right, his decollation.

Reredos of wood, carved and gilt, early XVIth century. In the centre, St. Gregory's Mass; on the left, the meeting of Abraham and Melchisedec ; on the right,

the Last Supper. From the Premonstratensian abbey at Averbode, near Liége.

On the altar :

The Virgin (seated) **and Child,** marble. Italian art, XIVth century.

THE VIRGIN

We have already seen the rôle of protectress which the misery of the Middle Ages attributed to the Virgin (see *Pilgrimages*). Images of her are countless, and they naturally underwent, in the course of centuries, a transformation similar to the one observed in the figures of Christ. Even as the Redeemer retained a royal attitude and bore royal insignia (see *Crucifix*) till the end of the XIth century, so did the Virgin, up to the same period, remain seated on a throne, holding the Infant exactly in front of her with, his face under hers. However, in the middle of the XIIth century, the figure began partly to lose the hieratic character which was still accentuated by symmetry; the Child was placed on the left knee. At the beginning of the XIIIth century, the Virgin rose; standing, but still rigid, she bore the Infant Christ on her arm. Then the humanisation became more marked, and her smile was created in the middle of that century (see XIIIth century). In the XIVth century, the figure became affected by the weight of her divine burden. From then onwards, both the realism and compassion of the Mother became more and more pronounced, and she later deigned to lean towards men and hold out her Son to them. When definitely humanised by the Renaissance, she showed herself in the tender attitudes of her maternal rôle.

On the right and left of the altar :

The Virgin and Child (Virgin seated, mutilated statue, stone). French art, beginning of the XIVth century.

The Virgin and Child (Virgin standing, stone). French art, end of the XVth century.

A Saint (stone). French art, first thirty years of XVth century.

Near the door :

The Virgin and Child (Virgin standing, stone). Bur-

gundian art, early XVth century. From the château of Saint-Apollinaire (near Dijon) where it was placed above the draw-bridge gateway.

Above the doorway :

Three divisions of a retable of painted and gilt terra-cotta. French art, middle of the XVIth century. The marriage of the Virgin, the Adoration of the Angels, the Adoration of the Magi. From the church of Saint Eloi, near Bernay (Eure).

Room XXIV — Ivories

IVORY

The Orientals, the Hebrews, Egypt, Greece and Rome possessed for ivory ornaments a passionate taste which the early years of the Middle Ages inherited. Secular ivory figures thus reached our times, preserved and utilised by the Church. As early as the XIIth century, ivory was in great honour for religious purposes ; it was used for the facings of reliquaries, for caskets, images of saints book-binding plates, croziers, pyxes and chalices. Generally at that time, and even since, it was painted, at least in places, and probably gilt ; in the middle of the XIIIth century, it was already adapted to secular uses and Parisian workmen employed it in making writing tablets, knife handles, dice, chess-pawns and combs ; in the XIVth and XVth century, diptychs and triptychs multiplied as well as mirror-backs and caskets.

Should this French overproduction and infatuation be ascribed to the ivory importations which the people of Dieppe originated in 1364? The theory is anything but proved. About the same time, Northern Italy, which probably received its ivories from Venice, produced marriage caskets in profusion ; very often even, when ivory was lacking, bone was carved and small plates were made which were let into the wood.

With the Renaissance, arts became varied and favour was distributed among them. Ivory, without disappearing entirely, enjoyed diminished credit, but it came into vogue again in

Louis XIII's reign, and was then used for inlaying ebony in the decoration of this austere furniture.

In the middle of the room, in a square glass-case (East side) :

A **divinity** crowned. Roman art, IIIrd century.

Juno, carved horn. Roman art.

A **casket**. Byzantine art, IXth century.

Reliquary, French art, XIIth century.

Large shrine. Rhenish art, XIIth century.

Small shrine. Byzantine art, XIIth century.

Portable altar ; XIIIth century mountings, on an ivory reliquary, German art, XIth century.

Casket. French art, XIIIth century.

The Virgin and Child (Virgin standing. A piece of work of exceptional size) French art, XIVth century.

Knife handle, Italian (?) art, XIVth century.

Near to this square glass-case, a flat glass-case containing articles of capital interest :

The **left leaf of a diptych**, Roman art, about 400. (The right leaf is in the South Kensington Museum, London).

Leaf of the diptych of Areobindus, consul in 506. Roman art.

Saint Paul. A facing plate, Italian (?) art, VIth century.

The signs of the Zodiac. Two book-binding plates. Byzantine art, IXth century.

A comb and case. Copt art, IIIrd or IVth century.

Two ivory **pyxes**. Latin art, VIth century.

An apostle. Latin art, IXth century.

A praying figure. Byzantine art, IXth century.

The blessing of Otho and Theophania. Byzantine art, Xth century.

Adam and Eve. Two plaques. Byzantine art, IXth century.

The death of the Virgin. Byzantine art, XIIth century.

Casket ornamentation. Scandinavian (?) art, XIth or XIIth century.

Book-binding plate. Latin art, XIIIth century.

In the adjoining flat glass-case :

Facing plate. German art. End of the Xth century.

The Crucifixion. Carolingian art, IXth or Xth century.

Book-binding plate. French art, XIIth century.

Tau-crossed pastoral staff of Morard, abbot of Saint Germain des Prés, Paris. French art, XIth century.

Crozier from the abbey of Saint-Martin at Pontoise. French art, beginning of the XIIIth century.

Triptych. Italian art (Northern Italy), XIVth century.

Comb and gravouère. French art, XVth century.

In the other square case, West side :

Seated Virgin. French art, beginning of the XIIIth century (One of the finest specimens of carved ivory).

Abbatial crozier. French art, XIIth century.

Episcopal crozier. French art, XIVth century, gilt copper mountings of the XVth century.

Caskets and fragments of caskets. Italian and French art, XVth century.

Justice and Crime. An ivory group. Italian (?) art. End of the XVIth century.

Two flat cases, over against the preceding ones ; in the one on the Eastern side :

Diptychs and leaves of diptychs. French art, XIVth century.

Mirror-cases. French art, XIVth century.

David and Bathsheba. Mirror-case. German art, XVIth century.

Memento mori and rosary beads. France and Spain, XVIth and XVIIth century.

In the adjoining flat glass-case, Western side :

Entombment. French art, XVIIth century.

Ivory **Paxes.** French art, XVth to XVIIth century.

Ivory archers' **Bracelets.** Flemish art, XVIth and XVIIth century.

Powder-horns and **shoe-horns,** XVIth and XVIIth century.

In front of the windows, South side; in a flat glass-case :

Triptych in high-relief and in the round. French art, XIVth century. From the church of Saint-Sulpice (Tarn). A work of rare beauty ; notice particularly, on the lower portion of the central panel, the Virgin and the two angels.

Mirror-cases. French art, XIVth century.

Small triptychs, diptychs, tablets, and diptych leaves. French art, XIVth century.

TABLETS

Tablets smeared with wax, as used by the Greeks and Romans for writing notes thereon, remained in common use during the Middle Ages. In the XIIIth century twenty one makers, in Paris alone, manufactured this article. These tablets, in the form of double leaves or *diptych,* were often made of ivory, and decorated with bas-reliefs on the outsides.

In front of the other window, South side :

Fragments of a reredos. French art, XIVth century. (Partly restored).

Casket plaques. French art, XVth century.

In front of the window, North side, in a flat case :

Spoons, knife handles, whistles, spilikins. French and Italian art, XVIth and XVIIth century.

Tobacco-graters. Flemish art, XVIIth century.

On the wall, between the two windows, South side :

Large ivory retable. Northern Italy, XIVth century.

Against the Western partition, in three wall-cases, on the right :

Pawns, chessmen and dice of ivory and bone, from the IXth to the XVIIth century.

On the left :

Naked children. Figures and groups in the round and low-reliefs by François Duquesnoy (?), Van Opstal, etc. Flemish art, XVIIth century.

Snuff-boxes, Flemish, of the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries, decorated with familiar or jocular scenes, comic characters, villagers, dancers, vagrants, etc.

VAGRANTS

During the whole of the Middle Ages, hordes of nomads of Eastern origin roamed over the Balkanic region and made their way all over Europe. The roads were their fatherland and in this wandering fatherland, all kinds of languages were spoken, which were made into one. Signs were agreed upon to allow them to recognise and help one another. On the outskirts of villages they carved hieroglyphics on the trunks of trees, which were so many warnings and informed coming bands of what they might hope for, or what they should fear, in the particular place. These isolated groups joined together to acquire strength; so onthey created a corporation and contrived to found a State. Their misery became a kingdom, and they possessed a king who was elected yearly ; they obeyed him, paid him taxes, which no one evaded, for their laws were severe. In the XVth century, the vagrants were strong enough to dare to enter towns. Sometimes they were

tolerated, and sometimes they were hanged. Louis XI, whose policy adapted itself to any arrangement that afforded a temporary advantage, offered them shelter in Paris.

So then they were recognised ; they named themselves the Vagrants (*Truands*). The Halles district, where they lived, became their domain and was called the « Court of Miracles ». Indeed, miracles actually did take place there every evening, for there it was that beggars got rid of their crutches or sham wounds; it was a Court also, since they had their king, dignitaries and a banner. The Grand *Coësre* of the Truands, who perhaps took his name from the Grand *Coëne* of the Hebrews, was Emperor of Galilee. He wore a crown and princely mantle when he presided at his bed of justice to sentence a guilty subject, appoint a duke, fix a mission, send an ambassador, superintend the good order of the schools, or preside over the examination of candidates, for in that kingdom of thieves, rank was acquired by merit ; no one was allowed to fulfil, in crime, functions to which he was not destined by his personal capacity or previous studies. At evening-schools, the higher grade members gave courses in epilepsy, lameness, begging, fever, purse-snatching and scurvy ; they instructed how to kill properly and shiver with cold ; the corporation painters taught how to paint on the human skin wounds which were masterpieces. When morning dawned, at Mass or market time, the Vagrants went off to their business ; around the churches, on market squares and at the corners of bridges, stood the orphans and « millards » ; the wounded, malingerers, those with calosities, the wretches, hypocrites and blackguards. After these professors had disappeared, several of the titles which they had borne outlived them, and their slang phrases passed into the French language.

From afar they could be heard shouting all through the night. Right up to Louis XIV's time, Paris tolerated this clamour of vice which rose from the Halles district. Terror emerged from that foul neighbourhood ; the loathsome stench of human infamy breathed from this little world, where all the sins of the earth enjoyed citizenship ; the feeble, the coward, the wicked, kidnapped children, forsaken scholars, deserters from all armies, escaped convicts, outlaws, and occasionally persecuted innocents, would live pell-mell in this Babel of filth where words from all the languages, French, Italian, German, English, Provençal, Spanish, Basque, Celtic

and Hebrew, were poured forth confusedly into the jargon of that universal sink of vice. When Louis XIV's soldiers entered this cess-pool, they found accumulated there the mire and vermine of centuries.

Against the same partition, in the central case :

Figures of gilt ivory, jet, etc. Spanith and Portuguese art, XVIth and XVIIth century.

Patch-boxes, sweetmeat-boxes, etc. French and Flemish art, from the XVIth to the XVIIIth century.

Around the room :

Furniture and fragments of furniture, of carved ebony, several inlaid with ivory. French, Flemish, Spanish art, etc., of the XVIIth century.

Room XXV — Glass-ware and Illuminations

GLASS

The invention of glass very probably dates back to prehistoric times ; as for its industrial utilisation, this is ascribed to Phœnicia. In Egypt, the tombs of Beni-Hassan (XVIIIth dynasty, 1500 years B. C.) shew us glass-workers blowing flasks according to the same methods that are still employed to-day. In the time of Strabo, the Alexandria work-shops enjoyed a very widespread celebrity. Early glass-ware was opaque, some articles being hardly translucent. According to Pliny, transparent glass would appear to be an Italic creation ; the same author states that the processes for the vitrification of nitred sand passed from Italy into Gaul and Spain. It may be supposed, however, that the volcanic regions of Gaul afforded their inhabitants the possibility of a local invention ; it is quite likely too that the Gauls, whose incursions into the East were countless, brought back with them, straight from Asia or Africa, the idea of this craft, for which they developed a passion at an early date. They employed glass-ware more for personal adornment (bracelets, necklaces, clasps, etc.) than for domestic uses, and on account of their unalterable nature glass-articles were used for funeral purposes : phials

abound in Merovingian as well as in Roman tombs. In the XIIIth century, glass-working became general in France, and in the XIVth century it already constituted a regular industry; the use of glass for table utensils was common enough in St Louis's time to allow drinking-vases to be known under the name of « glasses », no matter of what they were made. In Louis XI's reign, in order to hide silver plate, which was being commandeered by the king, ewers and goblets of glass tended to become more general still, so much so that, fifty years later, hawkers went round the streets offering for sale productions which had now become vulgar.

The glass industry, however, was the only one to which noblemen, to whom all manual labour meant degradation, could give themselves up without lowering themselves: glass-workers were gentlemen.

The Renaissance produced admirable glass-ware, in Venice at first, then in France and Germany. In the XVIIth century a notable decline began to set in. In the XVIIIth, crystal was preferred, but at the end of the XIXth, several great French artists, such as Cros, Lalique and Gallé revived the beautiful art of glass-working.

Four square glass-cases, about the four corners of the room. In the S.-W. corner one are the oldest and rarest pieces :

Large centre basin of enamelled glass. Arabian art, XIIIth century.

Mosque **lamp**. Enamelled glass. Arabian art, XIVth century.

Glass plates engraved on gilding. French art, XIVth century.

Tray on a foot. Enamelled glass of Arabian style. Venetian art, XVth century.

Tazza of blue, enamelled, and gilt glass. Venetian art, XVth century. (The foot restored).

Pilgrim's bottle decorated in Arabian style. Enamelled and gilt glass. Venetian art, XVth century.

Large glass, enamelled with polychromatic beads. Venetian art, XVIth century.

Tazza, of enamelled glass, with figures and dedicatory inscription. French art (Poitou), XVIth century.

Bowls of gilt and enamelled glass. Venetian art, XVIth century.

In the case in the N.-W. corner :

Venetian glass-ware, XVIth to XVIIIth century.

In the case in the N.-E. corner :

French **glass-ware**, XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries :

Goblet of enamelled glass, decorated with polychrome designs. French art (Poitou?), XVIth century.

Figurines of opaque glass. Nevers workshops, XVIIth and XVIIIth century.

Flasks. Orleans workshops, XVIIth and XVIIIth century.

Venetian glasses, opaque and translucent, XVIIth and XVIIIth century.

In the glass-case in the S.-E. corner :

Glass-ware from Germany, the Low-Countries and Bohemia ; engraved, enamelled, crackled, opaque glasses, from the XVIth to the XVIIIth century.

In front of the windows, South side, in two cases :

Dishes, cups and trays, of enamelled, engraved, painted, and gilt glass. Venetian art, XVIth and XVIIth century.

In front of the windows, North side, in a flat case :

Dishes with painting under glass. Venetian art, XVIth and XVIIth century.

In front of the central window, North side :

Wax medallions. Portraits of famous persons. French art, XVIth century.

Wax medallions. Portraits, figures and groups, in low and high-relief, French art, XVIth and XVIIth century.

Against the Western partition :

Monumental **fire-place**, from a house at Troyes. French art, second half of the XVIth century.

Adjoining the fire-place, in a piece of furniture with two wings :

A **collection** of illuminated prints and manuscripts, French art, from the early Middle Ages up to the XVIIIth century.

In front of the fire-place, in a hexagonal case :

A mourner. Alabaster, by Claus de Werve. From the tomb of Philippe the Bold. Burgundian art, about 1410.

A mourner. Alabaster, by Jean de la Huerta. From the tomb of Jean the Fearless. Burgundian art, middle of the XVth century. (These two tombs, originally erected in the Chartreuse of Champmol, near Dijon, and mutilated during the Revolution, are now in the Museum of Dijon).

The **replica of another mourner** from the tomb of Jean the Fearless, by Jean de la Huerta. (An identical figure decorates the monument at Dijon).

A **mourner.** Alabaster. Burgundian art, XVth century.

The Virgin and Child. Alabaster. Burgundian art, XVth century.

In the middle of the room :

The Virgin and Child (Virgin standing). Alabaster. French art, XIVth century. From the Hospice of Sens.

Jeanne of Laval (wife of king René) as donor. Marble. French art, end of the XVth century. From a church at Aix-en-Provence.

A female mourner. Alabaster. French art, end of the XIVth century.

Staff of Cardinal Montelparo. Italian art, end of the XVIth century.

Jesus in the Garden of Olives. A group of carved wood. Flemish art, XVIIth century.

The Virgin and Child (one of the earliest paintings on canvas). French art, XVth century.

The Adoration of the Magi. Painting on wood, ascribed to Luca d'Olanda (1523); or from the Antwerp school.

Musicians. Two painted panels, ascribed to Michel Wolgemuth. Nuremberg School, about 1480.

Unicorn's horn (in reality a narwal's tusk) presented to Charlemagne by the Sultan Haroun-al-Raschid, in 807, deposited by the emperor in the imperial Treasury at Aix-la-Chapelle, and by his grandson Charles the Bald in the Treasury of the abbey church of St. Denis, where it was preciously preserved for 950 years, to protect the French kings against poisoning. Various notches may be seen thereon. It was broken during the Revolution, taken to the Cabinet of Medals (National Library) and recently added to the Cluny Museum.

THE UNICORN

The *unicorn*, a fabulous animal the invention of which is lost in the earliest times and seems to have come down to us from the Far East, was the symbol of virginity and purity. For this reason, the horn of this animal was considered as being endowed with the virtue of revealing treasons and the presence of poisons in foodstuffs; again, it was the best of all antidotes. Poisoning was a perpetual peril for kings or lords in the Middle Ages and especially the Renaissance; the smallest pieces of this rare horn were therefore extremely sought for. In the XVIth century, they cost ten times more than gold. The Ducal palace in Venice possesses a similar horn, but of smaller dimensions.

The *Unicorn*, by reason of its virtues, was used as an emblem by apothecaries, maidens, and magistrates. Again, when it appeared as a heraldic supporter, it denoted nobility of the robe (see the tapestries known as « the Lady with the Unicorn ») in contradistinction to the *Lion* which denoted the nobility of the sword.

Near by, in a flat glass case, lying on a XVIth *century table* :

Prayer books. French art, XIVth, XVth and XVIth century.

THE CALENDAR

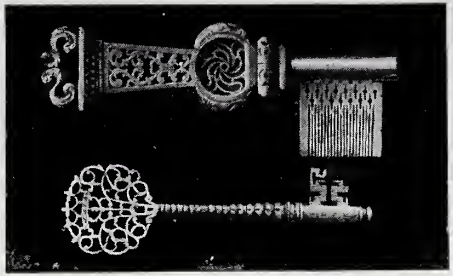
Throughout the Middle Ages, religious festivals gave their name to the divisions of the year and constituted the habitual calendar ; these feasts being movable, the designations were inconsistent and at times even varied from one place to another. Moreover, the year began at Easter, and therefore, a difference of several weeks would occur in the length of the year. By means of an edict dated August 4th 1564, Henry III decided that the year should begin on January 1st. Later, in 1581, Pope Gregory instituted the calendar to which he gave his name (*Gregorian*) and which, in spite of its defects, has been preserved to this day.

Prayer-books, French XVth century manuscript, with family inscriptions, viz : births, baptisms, and deaths, up to the end of the XVIIIth century. (This manuscript typifies a custom, and represents what, during centuries, constituted in France, the safest document relating to civil « condition ».)

CIVIL CONDITION

The use of surnames in Christiandom hardly dates back further than the XIth century. Up to that time, baptismal names alone existed, but in the enormous promiscuity of the Crusades, when these names were repeated endlessly, they proved insufficient. At the same time as each knight adopted distinctive armorial bearings (see *Coat of arms*), it became usual to add a qualificative to the baptismal name, a surname originating from a physical or moral peculiarity, or from some adventure, and which remained a patronymic. This new custom with noble families spread later to the middle classes in towns, and then to the country folk. However, whether noble or villain, no one had a civil « condition » ; people were born and died without leaving any record behind them ; even the age of kings was uncertain (*e. g.* Louis VI, Charles VII, etc.). The head of the family, when he knew how to write, or failing

A CROZIER. Limoges champlevé enamel. *(XIIIth cy.)*



KEYS. *(XVIIth & XVIIIth centuries.)*

Photo Braun.

EUCHARISTIC DOVE. Limoges champlevé enamel. *(XVIIth century.)*

EPISCOPAL MITRE. *(XVth cy.)*
ALMS BAG. *(XIVth century.)*

Photo Braun.

PIETA. Painted enamel, known as Montvaerni's.
(French Art, Limoges, XVth century.)

him, the chaplain in the lords' households, inscribed the interments and memorable dates in a prayer-book which was handed down from generation to generation. Marriages were more carefully mentioned for two reasons ; one of nobility, as it was essential that each person should know of his alliances, origins and quarters of nobility; the other, a religious one, was preponderant, for the Church forbade marriages between certain relations.

The Church had therefore recommended that priests should register the marriages, births and deaths in the Parish-Book, but such inscriptions were extremely irregular. The Council of Trent formally decreed them in 1563, but its orders were soon neglected. Royal decrees were hardly better observed. It should be noted however that from the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) until 1789, the Protestants were precluded from any registration since they were outside the pale of the Church. The present French registers date from 1792.

At the bottom of the room, against the eastern partition, in a flat case :

Other manuscripts, prayer-books, illuminations, of the XVth and XVIth centuries.

PAPER

Most mediæval manuscripts were on vellum, strictly speaking, still-born calf skin (washed, pounced, etc.) Paper made from cotton was common, however, and was used as early as the XIth century; paper made from rags only appears to date from the XIIIth century, and its use only became general after the invention of printing, that is to say about the reign of Louis XI.

The earliest books printed in Paris. Vellums, wood engravings picked out with polychrome designs, executed in the workshops of Guillaume Anabat, beginning of the XVIth century. (See the notice on *Playing-cards*, room IX).

Against the same partition, in three wall-cases :

Carved rock-crystals, XVIIth and XVIIIth century.

Wooden Caskets decorated with moulded paste, white or polychrome, picked out with gold. Italian art, end of the XVth and XVIth century.

Reliquary decorated with paste. French art, XIIIth century.

Marriage casket with paste decoration. French art, XIVth century.

Casket decorated with paste. Italian art, XVIth century.

Snuff-boxes, sweetmeat-boxes, and **miniatures,** from the XVIIth to the beginning of the XIXth century.

In a flat case, below the third wall-case :

Painted **portraits,** miniatures and medallions, XVIth and XVIIth century.

THE BEARD AND HAIR

In the early Middle Ages, the wearing of long hair was a sign of liberty, for serfs' hair was cut and dispossessed princes were shorn even before they were confined in a cloister. The fashion of wearing a long beard became discredited at the end of the XIIth century ; it reappeared in the middle of the XIVth, but lasted a short while only. Francis I, at the beginning of the XVIth century, brought it back into favour. One day, for amusement, Louis XIII hit on the idea of having the officers of his household shaved, leaving them only with their moustaches and a pointed tuft on the chin ; this at once changed the fashion. About the same time, ladies, who hitherto had their hair dressed by their chamber-maids, suddenly had recourse to male hair-dressers. Louis XIV, on account of the excrescences on his head, adopted a high wig, and the whole of Europe wore a wig up to the French Revolution.

Transformation portraits, with interchangeable sheets of mica. France, end of the XVIIth century.

Around the room :

Inlaid figures, of marble and alabaster. French and English art, XIXth and XVth century.

Spanish cabinet, XVIth century. (The foot is modern.)

THE CABINET

This piece of furniture appeared in the XVIth century; it was at first only a transformation of the chest (*bahut*), reduced in size and, like it, portable. It was placed on a table set apart for this purpose, the feet of which varied both in number and height. Soon afterwards, the cabinet was fixed to these feet and the new article which resulted therefrom, acquired several of the characteristics of the ancient credence. Despite these exterior transformations, it retained compartments or drawers in the interior, and served for storing precious articles. Its decoration was nearly always luxurious. Florence, in the XVIth century, ornamented the cabinets with marquetries of multicoloured marbles or rare stones; In France, in the reign of Louis XIII, there was a partiality for cabinets of ebony inlaid with ivory, and this soberness of colour in furniture logically corresponded to the soberness in dress, the dark velvets of which were enhanced with white cloth. Under Louis XIV, the general luxury banished all such austerities, and henceforth they multiplied precious woods, insets of bright stones or metals, Boulle marquetries, and Chinese lackers which were soon copied in France. The cabinet was now adorned with all possible splendours, since it was, preeminently, the familiar and intimate piece of furniture of the most noble ladies and the highest lords.

Venetian **cabinet**, XVIIth century.

Three stone **statues**; saint Savinian, Astronomy, saint Savinia (?). Workshop of Jacques Juliot of Troyes. French art, middle of the XVIth century.

Thirteen front portions of marriage **caskets**, painted panels enhanced with gold. Italian art, XVth and XVIth century. (Famous pieces, from the Campana collection. See the notice on *Chests*, room III).

Altar-cloth, embroidered with glass beads. French art, end of XVIIth century.

The Virgin. Painted and gilt glass. Italian art, XVth century.

Small low-reliefs of alabaster. Flemish art (Malines), end of XVIth century and early XVIIth century.

The **Mass of St. Gregory**. Triptych. Flemish art, late XVth century.

THE ORIGIN OF THE DRAMA

The drama has everywhere been the offspring of the Church. Even as, in Greek paganism, the feasts of Dionysus engendered tragedy, so also the two anniversaries of Christ, Christmas and Easter, Birth and Resurrection produced with us, two series of plays which at first only tended to render the meaning of the symbols more accessible and clearer, as well as more touching ; from this our drama originated.

At the dawn of Christianity, worship involved no ritual, for the early adepts were content with an annual banquet ; these feasts, simple evocations of the « Lord's Supper », were only festivals of spiritual fraternity. Soon, however, a more mystic ceremony was evolved to supply new wants of the mind, and this recalled the various phases of the Passion. The Mass is a true drama, ending with the voluntary sacrifice of Christ and crowned by the triumph of an apotheosis. The institution of the Mass was henceforth consecrated and going to hold good through the ages, but it was quite inevitable that its presentation should occasionally undergo transformation, according to the varying requirements of times and countries, as the new religion spread.

Leaving Rome, it reached the provinces. There it found itself in the presence of youthful and still barbarian races, the simple and painful childhood of peoples to whom Roman symbolism could scarcely be intelligible. To arouse them, an abstraction could not suffice ; to impress their minds, it was necessary to touch their senses ; pictures and music were needed to interest their eyes and ears, for seeing and hearing would be an inducement to understanding ; the visible element would facilitate intelligence and the musical element would intensify comprehension. Now the Christian myth is built up on two essential ideas, those of Incarnation and Redemption. God became man and suffered to redeem mankind. The two distinct actions, Nativity and Passion, took place in two distinct surroundings, Bethlehem and Golgotha ; round these two facts, two groups of symbols could be co-ordinate, two

series of dramas could be set in motion. In the two festivals which commemorate these two events, at Christmas as at Easter, the Mass assumed a special character and Faith endeavoured, to the best of its ability, to celebrate the two solemn moments. In the IXth century, the Christmas Mass was already a « tableau vivant » wherein the clerks, dressed up as prophets, stood around the priest who read the story of the divine holocaust.

The inactivity of the silent actors did not suffice for long; a third epoch was at hand when the disguised clerks, in order to portray faithfully the details of their parts, commenced to move about; thus they introduced mimic scenes. But their growing importance necessitated a vaster setting, and this brought about the fourth epoch; from the high-altar where these scenes had hitherto been played, they were transferred to the precincts where they had more space to move about. A stage became indispensable; thus the first theatre was built, still adjoining the church, but already outside it. Then it was that a few words of French were added to the Latin ones to render the scenes more intelligible, and thus the text tended to become more popular at the same time as the stage endeavoured to come abroad.

To this transformation of the « *Noels* », which were performed at Christmas, there corresponded an identical transformation in the « *Mysteries* », which took place at Easter; they had one peculiarity in common and this proved of great importance. Such characters as moved about and spoke were exclusively of subsidiary importance; the sacred figures, the Virgin and Christ, remained silent, for the veneration they inspired forbade them to pronounce human words.

That very hindrance was to become the cause of a still further step in the evolution of the idea, for the circle of those playing a speaking part necessarily grew larger, and their number multiplied; at the same time, the repertory of the subjects treated was enriched. Thus the fifth epoch was reached; Saints were added to the Prophets; they were numerous and their addition procured quite an unlimited series of dramas, viz : the *Miracle* plays. With them and by them, a new world appeared, a world rich in popular legends and closely akin to our own. These saints were men, like ourselves; they had lived a life almost similar to ours, amongst the incidents and promiscuities of daily existence. They provided

therefore more human and realistic elements, as well as scenes which often dared to be trivial, burlesque and vulgar ; the morals of the period found an opportunity to stand out clearly and striking. Man now appeared on the stage ; he exhibited himself in all his frailty and manifold distress, sometimes in anguish and often ridiculous. The people round about laughed, and this was legitimate ! Comedy had been born.

Thus, from Mass to « Noels », from « Noels » to « Mysteries », and from « Mysteries » to « Miracles », things had moved almost imperceptibly ; starting from divine symbols, a purely human spectacle had been arrived at. Sixth epoch : the raillery which was latent at the very bottom of French genius could now give itself full scope. When the Church began to be anxious at the freedom which was becoming excessive and the frequent scandals, it was already too late. — Seventh epoch : Henry III prohibited the « Mysteries ». So let it be ! The audience contented themselves with Farces. The stage no longer stood at the portals of the church ; being driven away, it was erected in the city. Now it was independent. The comedians were excommunicated in vain ; the people had acquired a taste for their plays. In addition to this, printing had been invented. Literature stepped in ; Corneille, Molière, and Racine arose, as Æschylus, Euripides, Sophocles and Aristophanes had done in former times, to show us simply the working of human passions.

Two writing tables inlaid with pewter, French art, XVIIth century.

Over the landing doorway :

Abutment of a mantelpiece of carved stone, by Corneille Floris, Flemish art, 1555. From the house of the sculptor at Antwerp.

Close to the door :

Two scenes from the Italian Comedy. Nevers blown enamels. End of XVIIth century.

In the windows :

Swiss stained glass, XVIth and XVIIth centuries.

Room XXVI, known as the Crown Room

In front of the windows on the North side, in two flat glass-cases. Right case, jewels from the 1*st to the* XII*th century.*

Gallic torques of solid gold.

Necklaces, bracelets, rings, ear-rings of gold, from the Gallic and Gallo-Roman period.

Fibulæ and buttons of bronze, decorated with polychrome enamels. Gallic and Gallo-Roman period.

Small glass ware, Gallic, found in tombs.

Sword scabbard inlaid with gold. Merovingian art.

Merovingian jewels, insignia, ear-rings, buttons and fibulæ of bronze and silver, decorated with polychrome pieces of glass.

Pieces of harness and fibulæ of chased bronze. Merovingian art.

Mantle clasp of bronze, Carolingian period.

Girdle tip of repoussé and filigree gold decorated with four lions in oriental style. XIth or XIIth century.

Silver-ware plaque of filigree. French art, XIth century.

Cover of engraved filigree silver. French art, about 1100. (The cover of a terra cotta jar containing a treasure of provincial coins of the end of the XIth century, found at Gometz-le-Château, Seine-et-Oise).

Inlaid cross of repoussé gold. French art, XIIth century.

Left-hand glass-case: XII*th to* XIX*th century jewelry* :

Rings of gold, silver and bronze, from the XIIth to the XVth century.

Pontifical **rings**, XVth century.

Poison **rings**. Italy, XVIth century.

The Arthur de Rothschild collection ; **rings** from the XIIth to the XIXth century.

Renaissance gold and silver-ware, Italian and French, of chased gold, gilt bronze, enamelled gold, engraved stones, carved cores, etc.

Necklace of the Annunciade of Savoy. XVIth century.

Girdles and **buckles**. France, Spain, Germany, from the XVth to the XVIIth century.

GIRDLES

In the Middle Ages, the girdle was of considerable importance ; it was doubly necessary, on account of first the fulness of the robe, and secondly the lack of pockets ; for men, it had primarily been but a cross-belt ; for women, as late as the XIIth century, it was a piece of material knotted over the lap with the ends hanging down in front ; from the XIIIth century, it was adorned with a buckle, to which were hung various objects of frequent use and indispensable to either sex ; ladies hung thereon their keys and *escarcelles* (see this word), mirrors and prayer-beads also ; workmen suspended their tools from it, and « men at arms » their « braguemard » (kind of dagger on the flap) etc. Soon other decorations were added to the original buckle, and metal ornaments quickly covered the entire belt which ultimately (XIVth century) acquired excessive richness, being often made of precious materials, chased and heavily laden with stones. Middle-class women envied the noble ladies for these, and the courtezans likewise wore them; hence the comforting proverb : « A good reputation is worth more than a golden girdle ».

As it grew narrower, in the XVth century, the girdle was called the *demi-ceint* (half-belt), and ladies wore it under this name for a century and a half ; at the beginning of the XVIIth century the « demi-ceint » fell out of favour, and was so simplified as to be only worn by women of the lower classes, finally becoming the characteristic of female servants.

In the middle of the room, in a square glass-case :

Crowns of Visigoth kings, VIIth century. One of them

engraved with the name of Recceswind (d. 672). Found in 1859 at Fuente de Guarrazar, near Toledo.

In the middle of the wall :

Altar-cloth of gold. German art, beginning of the XIth century. Given to Basle cathedral by the emperor of Germany, Henry II (Saint Henry, d. 1024). Preserved in the treasury of the said cathedral up to 1836 ; at that time there arose, between the town and the canton, a discussion as to its ownership ; this historic piece was then sold by auction and bought by a private individual who sold it to the Cluny Museum.

Beneath the altar-cloth :

Carpet of wool with velvet insets and silk embroideries. End of XVIth, or XVIIth century. Same origin.

Southern part of the room, in two square cases :

Golden rose conferred on the Prince-Bishop of Basle by Pope Clement V. Early XIVth century. From the same treasury.

GOLDEN ROSES

Every year the Pope ordered a rose with golden leaves to be made, which he solemnly blessed and carried in procession ; he afterwards sent it to some prelate, prince or princess, as a token of his particular satisfaction. This ceremony took place on the fourth Sunday in Lent, which was therefore called « Rose Sunday ».

Two lion's heads, knobs of a Roman seat ; hollowed rock-crystal, IIIrd or IVth century. Found in a tomb in the Rhine district.

Gospel's Book-cover. Gold and silver-work mountings with filigrees. French art, beginning of XIIIth century. Ivory plates : the Crucifixion, Carolingian art, IXth century ; the Virgin and six apostles, composite work.

Cross-shaped reliquary, decorated with filigree and cabochon stones. French art, XIIIth century.

Phylactery of filigree copper. Flemish art, beginning of the XIIIth century.

Casket of rock-crystal, with filigree copper mountings, ornamented with cabochon stones. German art, XIIIth century.

Small circular reliquary ornamented with pearls and precious stones, of enamelled silver-gilt. French art, XIVth century.

Phylactery ornamented with pearls and rockcrystal cabochons. Mosan art. XIIIth century.

Clasp of a priest's cope, charged with an eagle and ornamented with pearls and precious stones. German art, XIVth century.

Medallion, circular, representing a human mask. An ancient stone, French mounting of the XVth century.

« **Mariole** ». Small figure of the Virgin, enclosed in a belltower. Silver-gilt work. French art, XVth century.

Secular reliquaries, of silver or gilt copper. French art, XVth century.

Set of chessmen of rock crystal. Composite article.

Plates of engraved crystal. Italian and French art, XVIth century.

Pair of stirrups, bearing Francis I's cipher, of gilt bronze. French art, early XVIth century.

Dog's collar of repoussé gilt copper, with the cipher of Philip V, king of Spain. Early XVIIIth century.

In front of the window on the South side :

Collection of treasure-troves found in French soil ; gold, silver and bronze coins, from the Gallic period to the XVIIth century.

MONEY

The idea of giving a conventional value to counters of any kind, in order to facilitate exchanges, dates back to very ancient antiquity ; precious metals, such as gold and silver, were the

ones which best lent themselves to this use, as, in comparison to their small volume, they represented the highest value of merchandise. But the weight and alloy of the coins, being infinitely variable, rendered transactions difficult. Throughout the Middle Ages, the diversity of monetary values hampered commerce. In the XIIIth century, eighty lords were given the right to coin money, even as the king. Saint Louis decreed that the seigniorial coinages should not be valid outside their particular fiefs and that the coinage of the *Crown* only should be currency throughout the whole kingdom. Even this precaution soon failed to ensure the desired security. Philip the Fair, who was deep in debt, initiated debasements by coining money which had neither the required weight nor alloy; the Hundred Years' War embarrassed the Treasury still further. Charles V then endeavoured to control the monetary system; when the kingdom was finally cleared of the English invasion, Charles VII continued the work of his ancestor, and was powerfully assisted by a man of the people, Jacques Cœur, who gave up his riches in order to save from financial ruin the newborn France which Joan of Arc had delivered from the foreign yoke. Gold and silver coins, the value of which had been so changeable, were mostly described by names which recalled, not their value, but rather the image or inscription that was to be found on them (a cross, angel, shield, crown, Marc, Carolus, etc). The Church had at all times forbidden loans at interest, as being contrary to the Gospel. About the year One Thousand, and during the Crusades, the monasteries were the real bankers of the country. Enriched by expiatory gifts, pilgrimages and mortmain, whilst the nobility and Crown became impoverished by distant expeditions, they lent money to needy princes. In the XIIIth century, the Jews and Lombards played a preponderant part in financial affairs. In 1256, the first French bank was established at Provins, by Florentine merchants.

Gold and silver-smith's work from the XVIth to the XVIIIth century.

Opposite the golden Altar :

Boat-shaped receptacle, known as Charles V's, a piece of clockwork with automatons. German art XVIth century.

BOAT-SHAPED RECEPTACLES (*Nefs*)

In the Middle Ages, spells were cast over persons whose death was desired, and this superstition, which dates back to primitive mankind, had not altogether disappeared at the time of the Renaissance. Towards the end of the XIVth century, when faith was already on the wane, murdering was willingly resorted to as being more practical and safer, and it became frequent in the higher spheres. From the end of the XVth century, however, Italian fashions brought poison into prominence. It was already very much dreaded, but its use became so common for a century and a half that precautions were needed. People were no longer content with having their beverages and food tested by servants, it also became necessary to examine closely all table requisites which were used by princes and high personages. To this effect, the lord had before him on the table, a gold or silver container in which all the table requisites were enclosed [origin of the *surtout* (over-all)]. This table-piece took the form of a *nef* or boat, and bore that name. Made of gold, silver, or enamelled gilt bronze, it could be locked ; hence its later name of *cadenas* (padlock, *catena*, chain) which it still bore in the XVIIIth century, for this custom could not disappear quickly after the Great Terror of 1670-1680, when « the majority of those who went to confession owned to having poisoned someone or another ».

On the right and left, in two flat glass-cases :

Cases, flasks, trusses, lorgnettes, whisk-brushes, chatelaines, etc., XVIIth and XVIIIth century.

Embroidery scissors belonging to Marie-Antoinette.

Sweetmeat-boxes, snuff-boxes, boxes, flasks and cups, **Cameos and intaglios**, seals, small crosses, rare stones, engraved mother o'pearl, XVIth to XVIIIth century.

Near the door :

Table-plate, silver and silver-gilt, French, German and English art, XVIIth and XVIIIth century.

Northern part of the room, in four glass-cases :

Clocks and watches and scientific instruments.

TIME-PIECES

The *sun-dial* and *sand-glass* are of ancient origin, but the former could not be of very much use in cloudy weather. Throughout the Middle Ages, there was no other information about the time than the position of the sun, cock-crow, the bellman, and the bells of countless convents and churches ringing for worship. Thus the clergy indicated the hour, but they themselves obtained it from very unreliable sources, which varied with the seasons (the rising and setting of the sun, position of the stars according to a plumb-line set on the polar star). So far as mechanical means were concerned, graduated candles were utilised which burnt themselves out in a given space of time; these burnt day and night. The night was divided into three candles. The phrase « About the second candle of the night » is frequently found in decrees and narratives of that period. The *clepsydre* or water-clock, founded on the same principle as the sand-glass and of equally ancient origin, was a reservoir of water, which slowly emptied itself and indicated the hour by the level of the water. This system was improved upon by means of floats, mechanical devices and even bells. In 807, Charlemagne received from the Kaliph Haroun-al-Raschid, an ingenious water-clock which was the admiration of the Court. Water-clocks remained in use until the middle of the XVIIth century and the use of sand-glasses lasted much longer still.

However, « mechanical reloges », coarse instruments with fly-wheels and counter-weights, had already made their appearance; Philip the Fair possessed one of these, in 1314; Charles V, in 1370, installed the first public time-piece in Paris and ordered the churches to give the regulation time. In 1481, Louis XI ordered a portable clock for his own use. However, these clumsy and unreliable instruments only gave approximate indications.

It would appear that, twenty years later, Nuremberg mechanics invented the spring to replace the counter-weight, and the fusees, to regularise the action of she spring. Clocks became less cumbersome and were easily moved from place to place; these small apparatuses of copper, with elegant and varied shapes, were called *montres* and laid on the furniture. They were still very rare under Francis I and generally came from Germany; however, the king had his own *orlogeur*, clockmaker, (Jean

Couldray) from whom he ordered two watches. In 1544, he established the corporation of Parisian *orlogeurs* and regulated their production. The watches caused an infatuation, above all when the surprising little trinkets appeared which could be carried about by their owners; they were then called *Nuremberg eggs*. Soon afterwards, they were made in all kinds of shapes, hexagonal, oval, round, in the form of crosses, hearts, books and stars ; some were even made so tiny that they could be carried as rings or ear-rings. However, these mechanisms were as yet hardly scientific, they had to be wound up every six hours and varied considerably.

In 1583, Galileo, then nineteen years old, discovered the mathematical laws of the pendulum. But they were only applied to clock-making in 1657, by Christian Huygens, a Dutchman of learning who came and settled in Paris. Then only did clock-making acquire a scientific character (pendules, pendulum-clocks). This rising French industry quickly prospered, but was abruptly killed by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685), for nearly all French clock-makers were Protestants, owing to their connections with Holland, Germany and England; so they fled to Geneva and London. Ruined for more than a century, the clock-making industry remained dependent upon those countries, and only revived under Louis XV when wonderful gems of clocks were fabricated; but the prosperity which Louis XIV had driven away was never regained.

Table-clocks of gilt copper. French, German and Italian art, end of XVIth, and XVIIth century.

Watches and watch-cases, of engraved, open-worked, and gilt copper. French and German art, XVIth century.

Books on astrology, bearing the arms of Henry II. French art, XVIth century.

Alarm-clock, French workmanship, XVIth century.

Collection of XVIIth century watches, round, oval, octagonal, in the form of an olive, cross, and skeleton's head, etc., of silver or engraved and gilt copper, hollowed-out crystal and box-wood, etc. French, English and German art.

Collection of XVIIIth century watches, of gold and chased, engraved and enamelled silver, porcelain, hard and precious stones, ornamented with miniatures, pearls, roses, etc. French, English, and German art.

Collection of astrolabes, sundials, and compasses, from the XVIth to the XVIIIth century.

On the walls :

Six tapestries representing scenes from seigniorial life. French art, about 1500.

Returning to the Glass-ware room, the visitor will find a folding door opening on to the stair-case ; this leads to the second floor.

SECOND FLOOR

Room XXVII

Sacerdotal Vestments and Embroideries

Against the wall, East side, in three flat glass-cases ; first case :

Remains of sacerdotal vestments, silk materials with polychrome decoration, woven with inscriptions from the Koran. Found in the tomb of Bernard Lacarre, Bishop of Bayonne (1188-1213). Oriental art, XIIth century.

SILK

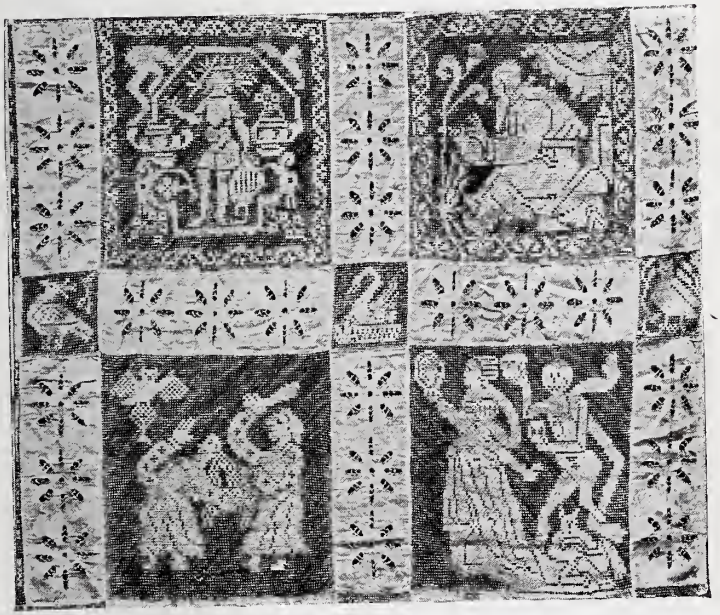
Although silk was already known in Homer's time, it only appears to have been introduced into Europe by Alexander the Great (IVth century B. C.). Its Chinese names, *sse*, *sîr*, and its Greek name, *sêr*, indicate both its origin and its channel of transmission. The countries of yellow race were known of the Ancients by the generic name of « Country of the Sères », which really meant to them « the Silk Country ». Thus our very word " silk " would appear to be a synonym of *China*. Very rare and infinitely costly to begin with, since it was

brought by land at a thousand risks, this material only tended to become accredited in Europe when Roman customs began to grow effeminate, that is to say, just when Christ was preaching in Judea; the Emperor Tiberius forbade by decree the wearing of all silk garments by men; amongst all the crimes of Heliogabalus, that of possessing a silken robe was especially cast up against him as a disgrace. However, Byzantium did not fail to adopt this material; the Byzantines, who, as early as the vth century, so greatly developed the Eastern art of dyeing materials, used silk very largely, but they continued to receive it from Asia, from Persia. It is very probable that their native productions only date from the time of Justinian (vith century). Nevertheless, eastern materials and designs continued to be the fashion. Christian workmen, established in Byzantium, or Syria, introduced into pagan patterns the emblems of their own worship which the orientals reproduced in their turn. It was thus that symbols of rival religions are found woven into the same fabric. From the time of the early Crusades, these productions were much admired; they were brought back in large numbers and the Church adopted them. Bishops were to be seen conducting services in robes ornamented with verses from the Koran, or other pagan sentences. (*See the flat glass-cases against the Eastern partition of the room.*)

Lying between the two hostile worlds, Sicily, on account of its geographical situation as well as of its semi-oriental origin, was destined to become the first silk manufacturing centre in Europe. Palermo produced some superb pieces, the oldest of which appear to date back to the xiith century. Almost immediately Spain followed, and the Hispano-Moresque art of Granada, Seville and Almeria, flourished from the xiiith century to the xvth. When the Arabs were definitely driven out of Spain (1492), their art migrated to other parts of the Peninsula; Murcia, Valencia, and Toledo established their manufactories. At the same time, a similar extension had taken place in Italy; the silk industry introduced at Lucca and Venice, eventually reached Genoa, Florence, Milan, etc. Already prosperous at the beginning of the xvth century, these towns wove gold and silver threads into the silk, they warped brocade and brocatelles and contrived to produce cut and curly velvets which were in demand throughout christiandom; they also re-embroidered these materials; Renaissance artists

Photo Braun.

STATE COLLAR. Venetian lace. *(About, 1664.)*



NEEDLEWORK (fragment). *(XVIIth century.)*

VENETIAN LADIES' HIGH HEELED SHOES. *(XVIIth century.)*

Photo Braun.

LADIES' SHOES. *(XVIIth & XVIIIth centuries.)*

designed countless patterns for them, which still influence our modern industry. Flanders also, educated by the Spanish invasion and Italian importation, produced satins, curly velvets and brocades, at Bruges. France, which had brought back from the Crusades a taste for Eastern luxury, had been endeavouring ever since the XIIIth century to produce silk cloths and *velouyaux* which Louis XI encouraged the Parisians to manufacture. In the middle of the XVth century, Louis XI created the Lyons and Tours workshops; at the end of the same century (1494), his son, Charles VIII, prohibited foreign importations; then Francis I attracted Italian designers, and Lyons won precedence; her taffetas were unique. Soon, however, the wars of religion dealt the district a fatal blow, but it recovered splendidly under Colbert and produced marvels; then, abruptly, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) created a void around the looms and ruined them. It needed the whole effort of the XVIIIth century and the invention of Jacquard of Lyons (1800) partly to repair this disaster in a national industry which, after thriving for four hundred years, had been killed by the stroke of a pen.

Fragment of an episcopal shoe, oriental silk material, gold embroidered, XIIth century.

Hose of figured silk, belonging to Arnaud de Via, archbishop of Bayonne (died 1333). Eastern art, XIVth century.

Second glass-case :

Remnants of sacerdotal garments. Oriental art, Xth century. Found in the tomb of Morard, abbot of Saint-Germain des Prés (990-1014).

Third glass-case :

Silk **materials.** Hispano-Moresque art, XIVth century.

Silk **materials**, interwoven with inscriptions from the Koran; Oriental art, XVIth century.

In a tall glass-case, near by :

Saint John the Evangelist, silk embroidery on linen. German (?) art, XIIth century.

An apostle, silk embroidery and Cyprus gold, on silk material. French art, XIIIth century.

GOLDEN THREADS

Silver and gold threads, largely used in the XVth century for ornamenting materials and clothing, were called « Cyprus » threads. In reality they were manufactured at Genoa.

Fragment of an orfray, silken embroidery and Cyprus gold. Italian art, XIVth century.

Material embroidered with silk and Cyprus gold, dedicated to the Virgin, saint Vivent and saint Peter. French art, XIVth century.

SARACENIC WORK

Some noble ladies had been to the early Crusades. They returned with a taste for « Saracenic work ». The art of weaving light materials came to us from Asia, as the others had done ; muslin derives its name from Mosul ; damask from Damascus, baldaquin from Bagdad, etc.

Corporal case, or burse, representing the Nativity. Silk and gold embroidery. French art, XIVth century.

Cushion case (?). Silk and gold embroidery. French art, XIVth century.

Episcopal **Mitre**. A black design on white silk. French art, late XIVth century. Formerly preserved in the National Archives.

THE MITRE AND TIARA

The episcopal mitre, which only appears to date from the XIth century, was at that period round and low. It became higher in the XIIth century, forming two horns (symbol of the Old and New Testament). They first appeared laterally, but, at the end of the same century, became anterior and posterior. In the XVth century, the sides were curved like Gothic arches ; embroidery and precious stones were added to their decoration. Later, the dimensions grew larger still. The mitre was not always the emblem of a bishop, for popes very often granted them to mere abbots.

From Merovingian times down to the XIVth century, the episcopal footwear was made in one piece, it was only in the XIV century that the velvet slipper was adopted.

From the IVth century onwards, a bishop's ring was the symbol of his union with the Church; canonically, it should be of gold and set with a single, self-coloured precious stone.

For a long while, the papal tiara possessed but one crown, the symbol of spiritual authority. At the beginning of the XIVth century, Pope Boniface VIII, who had had violent disputes with Philip the Fair, addressed to the latter, in 1301, the bull *Ausculta Fili*, in which he vindicated the Pope's supremacy over sovereigns, his right to judge and dethrone them, etc. Philip caused the Holy Father's bull to be solemnly burnt, and Boniface, in order to confirm his pretensions, added a second crown to the tiara, as a symbol of his temporal authority. Some years later, Benedict XII, then Pope at Avignon, added yet a third crown, which has been retained by all the Popes at Rome.

Episcopal mitre. Embroidery of silk and gold in relief, enhanced with pearls. French art, XVth century.

Alms-bag, silk and gold embroidered. French art, XIVth century (The figures are embroidered on fur, which sets them in relief).

Alms-bag, silk and gold embroidered, decorated with animals, Oriental style. Spanish or Sicilian (?) art, XIVth century.

The **front** portion of an **alms-bag**, silk and gold embroidery, shaded and gauffered drop-stitching, on cloth lined with vellum. (A scene from the story of « Merlin the Wizard »). French art, XIVth century.

In a companion tall case, at the other end of the room :

Embroidery of silks on lawn, decorated with inscriptions from the Koran in red letters, conventionalized. Arabian or Spanish art, XIth or XIIth century.

Embroidery of silks on lawn, ornamented with polychrome cartouches and Koran inscriptions. Arabian or Spanish art, XIIIth century.

Fragment of a silken shroud, enhanced with gold embroideries. Arabian art, XIIth century.

Silk material, embroidered with gold, decorated with fleur de lys, surrounded with blossoming twigs. French art, XIIIth century. Found in a tomb at Poitiers.

Episcopal mitre, embroidered with silk and gold. Spanish art, XVIth century.

Prelate's **gloves** of red silk, gold embroidered. France, XVth century.

GLOVES

Gloves were used in antiquity amongst the Persians, Greeks, Romans, and Gauls ; but the form they took amongst these various nations is unknown. In the Middle Ages they made their appearence, not as an article of clothing, but as clerical and feudal insignia. As long as the appointment of bishops remained the privilege of the lords, and while bishoprics were conceded as fiefs by a suzerain to his vassal, gloves were always an emblem of this investiture; but they lost this character in 1058, when the right of choosing bishops was vested in the Pope. From that time they became an article of secular attire, and from the XIIth century onwards they constituted the emblem of the holders of falconry rights, a privilege belonging to the highest nobility. In the XIIIth century, their use was already less restricted, although they did not lose their seigniorial character. « To throw down the glove » meant defiance ; « to give it » implied homage or surrender. In the *Chanson de Roland* a knight, when lying mortally wounded and giving up his soul to God, would raise his glove to heaven. But later, when this article of clothing became more widely used, it still retained, amongst the middle-classes themselves, a reference to its noble origin. In the XIVth century, gloves were given as New-Year gifts, wedding presents, and tokens of promises.

Traces of this emblematic character are to be found in many phrases : *avoir les gants*, « to possess the gloves » (to have the priority in) — *se donner les gants*, « to give oneself gloves » (to give oneself airs) —, etc.

Bonnet of Pietro Grimani, Doge of Venice (1741-1752).

Alm's-bag embroidered with figures in relief, French art, XIVth century.

Money-bag, embroidered with silk and enhanced with pearls. French art, XVI century.

THE ESCARCELLE

In the escarcelle or money-bag, which hung by people's side (whence : *purse-cutter*) were put the purse and various objects which were later put in the girdle itself, and afterwards in the « flap » (often an enormous bag from which sweets and fruits were produced to be offered to ladies). They were then transferred to the doublet, or a pouch under the left armpit. Pockets did not come into use until the advent of the wide hose of the XVIth century; but the escarcelles reappeared in women's attire during the Revolution, when, in order to imitate the antique, scantily clad women, adopted draped robes and at the same time began to use the Roman *reticule*, which they misnamed *ridicule*.

Ecclesiastical biretta, embroidered with silk and enhanced with pearls. France, XVIth century.

Purses, from the XVIth to the XVIIIth century.

In the middle of the room, in six glass-cases :

Chasubles and copes (Collection of), of velvet and silk, embroidered with silk and gold, on red, blue and white grounds, etc. Italian, Flemish, French, and Spanish art. Late XVth, and XVIth century.

COLOURS

Oriental races were fond of attaching a symbolic meaning to colours. The Church and the Middle Ages did likewise.

The liturgical colours, that is to say those canonically adopted for public worship, were white, a symbol of purity ; green, standing for hope in the life to come; red, in remembrance of the blood of the martyrs; black, the emblem of death. The Church, having been wedded to Christ, wears eternal mourning and it is for that reason that priests are clothed in black. However, this funereal colour did not appeal to the bishops,

princes of the Church triumphant ; as a testimony to this triumph, they began to wear imperial purple. (Violet hued-purple, not a bright red one, had constituted, in the time of the Roman emperors, the distinctive character of supreme power ; it was of Phœnician origin. Tyrian purple was extracted from a shell-fish peculiar to the coasts of that region). But when violet became the episcopal colour, it bore a two-fold signification, *viz* : mourning and sovereignty ; hence kings wore violet for their mourning whilst their consorts dressed in white.

In the same symbolical turn of mind, religious orders sought for suggestive colours in the choice of their apparel. When the Benedictine monks founded the house of Cluny, in order to cut themselves adrift from the horrors of the century, they clothed themselves in black ; but soon (middle of the XIIth century) when they began to vaunt that magnificence which scandalised St. Bernard, a reaction took place in the order itself. Then other Benedictines, in the rival establishment of Citeaux, adopted white to emphasize their role of reformers. Likewise, the Dominican friars who founded the Inquisition, chose white robes because they intended to purify the world. The Carthusians, Augustinians, Premonstratensians and Servites (White-Mantles) also wore white robes. Grey and brown, lustreless colours, being signs of humility and poverty, became the mendicant orders, such as the Franciscans, etc.. Saint Louis and Louis XI selected these colours for their own personal use, both as a matter of taste, the former out of modesty and the latter out of pride. Colours had a meaning amongst laymen just as amongst the clergy ; green was set aside for fools and insolvent debtors ; yellow denoted traitors and Jews. In the XIVth century and more especially in the XVth, fashion imagined a thousand allegorical fancies, a gallant affectation which lent to colours a veritable language analogous to that of flowers ; then clothing became a medley of colours just like the coats of arms which they reproduced. This fashion, however, was not exactly new, for men had already worn their armorial bearings on mail-coats from the time of the first Crusade, and ladies had done likewise since the reign of St. Louis. Under Charles VI, they even went so far as to clothe themselves from head to foot with heraldic materials. Lovers displayed the colours of their lady-loves, and vassals wore the colours of their masters (*Livrée*, livery, because a uniform was « deliv-

ered » to them at festival times). The early XVIth century showed a passionate taste for motley; this was carried out with countless colours by introducing the *slit* or *vent* (a reminiscence of the battle of Marignan, from which the conquerors returned which their clothes cut to shreds). By way of reaction, the XVIIth century grew sober-minded, it took a fancy to black or dark shaded velvets, which were ornamented with lace and fine linen (see Lace-work). Ladies of modest means wore grey (gris), hence the word *grisette*.

Fragments of a **baldaquin** or a **mantle**, of red velvet, inlaid with heraldic leopards, embroidered with gold thread and female figures, embroidered with polychromatic silks. English workmanship, early XIVth century. (These remarkable fragments have been pieced together in the form of a chasuble).

THE ENGLISH LEOPARDS

When the Normans had conquered England, they displayed the two Norman leopards on the escutcheon of the new kingdom. When England annexed Guyenne, which also bore a golden leopard on a field gules, the English added this third leopard to their own. After they had been driven from France during the XVth century, they lost successively Normandy and Guyenne, but still retained the leopards.

On the other hand, the feathers which top the British coat of arms stand in commemoration of the battle of Poitiers (Monday, 19th september 1356), when the King of France, John the Good, who was wearing this plume on his helmet, surrendered to the Black Prince. As for the motto « *Honni soit qui mal pense* », it was given to the Order of the Garter, founded in 1350 by Edward III, the father of the Black Prince. The French language, imported into England by the Normans, continued to be used in all official documents from the XIth century onwards. It was only in 1361 that this same King Edward decided to replace it by the English language.

Corporal cases, fragments of **orfrays** and **altar-cloths**, embroidered with silk and gold. Italian, Flemish, French, and Spanish art, XVth and XVIth century.

Embroideries, orfrays, and **braids** of Cologne material, decorated with personages with painted and in laid faces. Rhenish art, XVth and XVIth century.

Against the wall, West side :

Copes, chasubles, dalmatics and **caporal cases** of velvet with gold and silk embroideries, XVIIIth century.

In front of the windows, South side :

Silk **Chasubles,** embroidered with silk and gold ; XVIIth century.

Mantle of a statue of the Virgin, embroidered with silk and gold on a silver ground. Spanish art, XVIIIth century.

In front of the windows, North side, going to the left, first window :

Wrought **material** called « tissu poche », linen and red silk. Italian art, XIVth century.

A band of grey silk, embroidered with silk and gold, decorated with grotesques, water-nymphs, chimeras, cupids, etc. Italian art, XVIth century.

Yellow silk valance, embroidered with polychrome figures, and infant savages. (Trimmings from the bed of Pierre de Gondi) French art, XVIIth century.

In front of the second window :

Two dalmatics decorated with the arms of the dukes of Bar and Lorraine. Late XVIth or XVIIth century. (The heraldic orfrays were later arranged on a flowered silk material).

In front of the third window :

Sacerdotal ornaments of white damask, embroidered with gold. XVIIth or early XVIIIth century. From Autun.

Around the room :

Six tapestries from the **History of Saint Stephen**

series. French art, about 1500. From the church of Saint Étienne, at Auxerre. This admirable piece of workmanship represents, in a series of tableaux divided off by small columns or trees, episodes from the life of St. Stephen and which attended the discovery of his relics. From end to end, the entire piece measures forty-four metres. These hangings were originally intended to decorate the choir of the cathedral, immediately above the stalls, but they were little used for that purpose. During the sacking of Auxerre by the Huguenots, they disappeared. After much exchanging and purchasing, the Cluny Museum succeeded in bringing them together again. Recent cleaning has revived their splendid colouring (*See Rooms* XXVIII, XXXIX and XXXI).

In frames :

Christ blessing the world. Fragment of a Flemish tapestry. (From the Brussels workshops). About 1500.

The Worship of the Golden Calf. Embroidery of silks, gold, and silver. French art, 1515. From a piece of furniture used at Francis I's coronation.

Adam and Eve in the earthly Paradise. High-relief silk embroidery, enhanced with gold. English (?) art, XVIIth century.

Against the walls :

Two chests. French art, XVIth century.

Two side-boards (restored), French art, XVIth century.

Forming a frame for the tapestries are :

Decorative fragments of carved wood, from French furniture of the XVIth century.

Fragments of friezes and portions of enclosure screens from various churches. French art, early XVIth century. Most of these panels, having been taken to the storerooms of the abbey church of Saint-Denis during the Revolution, have since been cut about and completed with

modern additions, to be used as wall-decorations in the church. They were afterwards taken down, and have recently been brought together by the Cluny Museum. Several of these fragments of carved oak may be safely said to come from the chapel at the château of Gaillon, built about 1510, by Georges d'Amboise, archbishop of Rouen and brother of Jacques d'Amboise, abbot of Cluny, who had built the Hotel of Cluny twenty years earlier.

Especially noticeable, near the two South windows, are :

Four panels of carved oak, decorated with grotesques, from the same chapel. Franco-Italian art, 1510.

Room XXVIII

Civil Garments and Embroideries

During the Middle Ages, just as now-a-days, popular garments, which required to be adaptable to working requirements, were plain, close-fitting and varied very little. It was not so with those worn by the nobility; from the XIIth to the XIVth century, men as well as women wore long robes, but these fell into disfavour during the reign of Charles VI. Then, luxury with regard to dress, which had appeared from the time of St-Louis, became extravagant. The lords adopted short tight coats, often made of two differently coloured, and afterwards multicoloured, materials, on which were reproduced the tinctures of the armorial bearings. Gentlemen and ladies were ornamented with coats of arms in silk and velvet. Men's foot-wear, imitating their armour, was pointed (shoes « à la poulaine ») and the point grew gradually to an inordinate length. When the curve reached up to the knees, it was necessary to keep the points up with a cord. At the same time, the head-gear developed to similar proportions; the ladies wore immense « hennins » (cone-shaped hats) adorned with *flocards* (veils) and ribbons. These outrageous fashions caused « no little ridicule » amongst the people. When the French nobility were beaten in the battle of Agincourt (1415), it was

said that their shortened coats were « more convenient for fleeing before the enemy ».

As for the wearing of furs, which dates back to barbaric epochs, and was perpetuated under the Merovingians and Carolingians, it was still prevalent throughout the Middle Ages. In the year 1300, Paris possessed 344 furriers. Our ancestors chiefly employed Northern squirrels under the names of *minever* (vair and menu-vair), for making mantles, counterpanes and shoes. Cinderella's slipper was made of « *vair* » (squirrel), not of « *verre* » (glass). In six months Philip the Long (1316) used 6346 skins for his clothes. On Jean the Fearless's cradle (1371), a single covering rug needed 1200 ermine skins. This very costly fur was exclusively set apart for the use of the nobility.

Meanwhile the long robe, which had been repudiated by fashionable folks in the XIVth century, had not completely disappeared under Louis XII. It was still worn as an indoor garment, for castle chambers were cold ; the « dressing-gown » has even been handed down to us. As town attire, Francis I and his sumptuous friends abandoned it, wearing short coats instead. This new fashion definitely permitted the wearing of the sword which, for three centuries, was part of the civilian dress.

Henry III, the *roy-femme* (as d'Aubigné named him), adopted for himself and his favorites all the mincing coquetries of feminine attire ; dressed, combed and wearing the head-dress of a woman, with pearls round his neck, in his hair and ears, he originated the idea of adding to the lower part of his doublet, that paunch which gave the stomach a swollen appearence, just as the ladies of the XVth century had padded their skirts to feign pregnancy. In return, he did away with the « braguette » as being too masculine and he adopted tight hose after the Greek or « greguesque » style, hence the name *gregues* (breeches) which still holds.

The fancy of wearing a mask, already started in Charles VI's reign, was revived under Francis I, and the fashion became popular. Being very convenient at the outset to maintain the secrecy of amorous intrigues, it soon became so indispensable that decorum itself decreed that ladies should not venture forth without covering their faces with a mask. However, this mask, being the privilege of the nobility, remained forbidden to middle-class women.

In five flat glass-cases :

Civil garments, coat and waistcoat, serge and silk with trimmings. France, XVIIth century.

Rollers of silk foulard, embroidered with silk ; silken rollers, embroidered with silk, gold and silver, XVIIth century.

Trimmings of a lady's bodice; XVIIth century.

Panniers, tops, and **middle** portions of **garments**, etc. France, XVIIIth century.

Dalmatics of velvet, embroidered with silk and gold. France, XVIth century.

Dalmatics of white and green silk, embroidered in relief. France and Spain, XVIIth century.

In three wall cases :

Man's **collar**, of silk embroidered with gold. France, late XVIth century.

Early jointed fans, made after imported models of Chinese fans. Venice, XVIth century. (Paper cut out to imitate Venice lace, ribs of ivory or painted mica).

Fans painted on vellum, silk and paper, with ribs of ivory, etc. France, XVII and XVIIIth century.

Leather-gloves, embroidered, painted, etc. Late XVIIIth and early XIXth century.

Two medallions of polychromatic, figured satin. French art, late XVIIIth century. From Marie-Antoinette's boudoir at Trianon.

Venetian **robe** of silk, late XVIth century.

Biggins, ladies', girls', and children's; also **a man's** bonnet. XVIIIth century.

Ladies' **headgear** ; various provinces of Central Europe, XVIIIth century.

HEADGEAR

Very few fashions have undergone so many changes as that of headgear : chapels, bonnets, amices (for hiding the ears) coifs, chaperons, etc.

From the IXth to the XIIth century « chapels » were adorned with peacock or flamingo feathers ; in the XIIIth and XIVth, decorations of orfrays, enhanced with gold, pearls and precious stones, became the fashion ; this luxury in headgear developed enormously towards the end of that XIVth century, under the influence of Isabel of Bavaria, the gay wife of Charles VI, the mad king ; the *escoffion* of that period was a kind of enormous cushion netted with jewelry, or again it was sometimes made up of starched linen (see the portrait of Jeanne de Laval, the wife of good king René), it preceded the *hennin* which was more imposing still, with its thin cone which measured as much as a yard in length when worn by noble ladies, or two feet in the attire of middle-class women.

The *hennin* was adorned, behind, with a veil or *flocard* which hung as low as the ground, and was held up under the left arm when the lady was on horseback. The *chaperon*, though simpler, was nevertheless highly complicated and also varied considerably from the XIIth to the XIVth century ; being used both by men and women, it was made of cloth, velvet, or silk. Ladies' chaperons were but a head-covering raised in front and protecting the nape and ears ; at the end of the XVth century, it was cut short in the rear and lengthened on the sides ; in the XVIth it was nothing but a band of cloth placed on the head and hanging down behind, of velvet for noble ladies and of cloth for the « sous-dames » (under-ladies). Finally, in the XVIIth century the middle-class women remained the sole wearers of the chaperon, which became their distinctive sign.

As for masculine hats, they consisted of three parts, *viz :* the *visagère* which surrounded the face, the *guleron* which covered the head, and the *cornette*, a kind of pennant which hung on the back or side and grew very long, falling as low as the girdle whereon it was rolled. The silken *chausse* (shoulder-knot) which French university professors still wear, is a relic of the ancient chaperon.

From the XIIIth century onwards, men wore, in addition to the chaperon, felt bonnets the shape and size of which were continually changing ; they were adorned with an *enseigne*

(badge) or *affique* (kind of bauble), generally made of a more or less precious metal, sometimes enamelled or enriched with pearls, but always decorated with some sort of symbol (see Bronzes and Pewters). Louis XI wore on his hat plain badges of lead in the image of the Virgin and saints.

In the middle of the room, in a piece of furniture with wings :

Samples of velvet (stamped, cut, curled, etc.). **Damasks, brocades** and **brocatelles.** Italian, French and Spanish art, from the XIVth to the XVIIth century.

On a stand between the two windows :

Specimens of embroideries, from the XIth to the XVIth century.

Two fragments of cloth of gold, decorated with animals. Oriental art, XIth and XIIth century.

Braid of blue silk embroidered with gold, bearing the arms of France, XIIIth century.

Material of blue silk, embroidered with Cyprus gold, decorated with fantastic animals. XIVth century.

Pictures in silk **embroidery.** French or Italian art, XVth century.

Saint Peter, silk embroidery enhanced with gold. Italian art, late XVIth century.

Near the door :

Two scenes from lives of saints. Pictures in silk embroidery, enhanced with silver and gold threads. Italian art, late XVth century.

Doll's bed, silk embroidered with gold. France, late XVIIth century.

On the walls :

Two panels of tapestry from the « Story of Saint Stephen » series. French art, about 1500 (See, page 184).

Small tapestries with figures, lords and ladies, and gallant inscriptions. German art, late XVth century.

Altar-cloth, embroidered with silk, silver and gold threads; divided into four portions : legends of Saint Mark and Saint John. Cologne workmanship, XIVth century.

Hanging of lawn, embroidered with silk; scenes from the Old Testament. Swiss art, 1574.

Decorative fragments of carved wood, from French furniture of the XVIth century.

Two friezes, of carved wood, by Alonso Berruguete. Spanish art, early XVIth century.

Near the door :

Head of Saint Peter. Fragment of a tapestry. French art, 1594. This piece is the only one remaining from a set of twelve tapestries which made up the « History of Saint Peter » series, executed in Paris by Dubourg, after cartoons designed by Lerambert, for Saint Merry's church.

Room XXIX — Lacework

LACEWORK

THE various works to which the generic name of *lacework* is given at the present day, are of comparatively more recent creation than is imagined, since they only date from the Renaissance. Lace is really only a kind of improved embroidery, and on this account its origin may be said to date back to very ancient times ; Homer and Isaiah speak of light materials with embroidered designs. Regular fine lacework has been found in Copt tombs of the IVth century, and a kind of gold lace in Scandinavian tombs. The Anglo-Saxons evinced in early times a marked partiality for embroidered garments. In the XIth century Queen Edith and Queen Mathilda embroidered cloth with the help of their ladies-in-waiting. Throughout the feudal period, the suzerain's wife gathered round her in her manor the daughters of the vassals (chamber-maids) and taught them fancy-work, whilst the lord himself instructed young nobles (varlets) in the soldiering profession. Nuns, during the long, peaceful hours in convents, whiled away time by

doing work which the XIVth century called « nonnains'work ». Was this lace? Not yet, for it was only in the XVth century that a few types of early lacework made their appearance on Flemish pictures ; and in the XVIth century, on Italian portraits. However, even at the end of the XVIth century, books of patterns designed in Northern Italy only contain purely geometrical models, the lines of which are almost architectural, and the work was still crude ; lacework was being evolved. The first attempt at this new craft was the embroidering of cloth, the material between the embroideries being cut away (*point coupé*) ; then the cloth grew more and more open-worked (*drawn threads*) so much so that it finally disappeared. The needle alone was plied and created the support at the same time as the ornamentation. The craft became less cramped and more delicate ; Venice, Milan and Genoa, (which towns probably derived their inspiration from the East, or from the Saracens of Sicily, or again from conquered Dalmatia) multiplied the ingenious nature of the workmanship, exported their products, and vast sums of money flowed into Italy. At the same time, Flanders working with spindles, improved its art; France did not possess any yet. Catherine de' Medici imported transalpine productions into this country, together with her suite and manners, whilst England, under Henry VIII in 1517 and under Elizabeth in 1572, struggled against these productions and those of Flanders. For a century, the French nobility ruined themselves by purchasing lace-trimmings (*passements*) which cost fabulous prices ; Henry IV's plain tastes and the sumptuary laws of Louis XIII met whith very little success when they attempted to prevent the financial ruin of France ; in the wardrobe of Cinq Mars, in 1642, three hundred sets of lace adornments were found. As usual, the middle classes began to copy the luxury of the nobility; vainly did Louis XIII attempt to react and turn public taste towards fine Dutch linen which was soberer in aspect and cheaper in price. The very day of his death saw the reappearance of lacework, and his widow, Anne of Austria, shrouded his mortal remains therein. Mazarin resumed the struggle without any appreciable success and a new decree prohibiting lace was issued. At length, Colbert discovered the true remedy (1663). He sent for Venetian laceworkers and founded a French school for needle lace-working ; the processes were identical, but French thread being finer and more supple, the new products surpass-

ed all others. Louis XIV adopted them and gave them a name : « point de France ». Great artists designed models for the Normandy workshops ; in particular, Alençon produced lace network, and Argentan chain-work. Meanwhile, the Venetian Senate condemned the deserting workers to death, and at Brussels an act of 1698 threatened with « severe chastisements » all the lace-workers who should emigrate. Meanwhile lace had begun to be manufactured all over Europe.

During the course of the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries, this craft produced valuable works of art : in Venice and Normandy lace-workers plied the needle, and in Flanders and Milan, the spindle. In England, the styles varied according to the reigns, but a preference for Flemish work was always predominant. Towards the end of the XVIIIth century, lace became quite common, and this popularity caused its vogue to decrease amongst the higher classes. Marie-Antoinette preferred plain muslins to them ; under this Queen the fashion changed ; everywhere the decline of lace was manifest. Then looms were invented, mechanical work supplanted manual labour, commerce killed the art of lace-making, leisure hours were lacking and lace-working died out.

In front of the windows :

Collar and cuffs of Venetian needle-lace ; point de rose (ponto in aria), XVIIth century.

Venetian lace, needle-made : a flat rose, with figures.

Large bed-spread (or table-cloth) consisting of 72 square pieces, embroidered net-work with insertion, decorated with figures; « point coupé » bands. Early XVIIth century.

Around the room, in flat glass cases; Eastern side, two cases :

Strip of needle-lace decorated with figures. Venice, about 1580.

Table-cloth of linen, ornamented with strips of lace similar to the foregoing. Venice, XVIIth century.

Linen **table-cloth** embroidered with green silk. Italy, late XVIth century.

Linen **table-cloth**, ornamented with strips of spindle-made lace. Milan, XVIIth century.

Northern side, in three cases :

Bed-spread, point coupé and Venetian lace, needle made. Venice, XVIth century.

Man's collar of Dutch linen, edged with Flemish spindle-made lace. About 1636.

Centre-piece, point coupé and needle-lace. Venice, XVIth century.

Lace collar and cuffs, Flemish (?) spindle-made found in a lady's tomb at the Château d'Usson (Auvergne), where Queen Margot lived in disgrace from 1587 to 1605.

Spindle-made **lace** of unknown origin, probably from Slesvig or Germany. Early XVIIth century. (The portrait of King Christian IV of Denmark shows similar collar and cuffs).

THE WORKSHOPS OF SLESVIG

Christian IV, who ascended the Danish throne in 1588, established the Slesvig workshops during the early years of his reign. Work was carried out there, not only by women, but also by old men who wore bags over their beards to prevent them from being caught up by the spindles. Some of the king's shirts preserved in the Rosenborg museum, and his portrait at Hampton Court, offer lace-work identical with the above specimens, which consequently may be said to date back to the end of the XVIth century.

Alb of Venetian guipure; needle-lace. Late XVIIth century.

Western side, in two cases :

Lady's **garment** of Venetian guipure, needle-lace. Early XVIIth century.

Corporal of lace. Spanish art, XVIIth century.

Lace from Flanders, spindle-made. **Binches, Malines, and Valenciennes** workshops, XVIIth century.

Close by, in a small square glass-case :

Collar for state occasions, known as Colbert's; Venetian

guipure, needle-made, about 1664. A peerless piece of workmanship.

In a glass pulpit :

Table cloth of linen, embroidered with polychrome silk. Italian art ; early XVIIth century.

Between the two windows :

Altar-cloth, cotton-embroidered linen, representing the Virgin, saint Catherine and saint Barbara. Alsatian or German workmanship. Dated 1590.

COTTON

Cotton fabrics were brought to France at the time of the first Crusades, but their fabrication, which soon became a source of national wealth, only dates from the XVIIth century.

Men's **Bonnets** and women's **Biggins.** Alsatian workmanship, XVIIth and XVIIIth century.

In the midle of the room, in a hexagonal case :

Bonnet of the Emperor Charles the Fifth ; embroidery on cloth and spindle-made lace. Flemish art, early XVIth century.

CHARLES THE FIFTH'S BONNET

Needle-work was greatly in favour in the Low-Countries as early as the XIVth century, and was part of female education ; Charles the Fifth wished to do more than protect this art, so he decreed its practice. This bonnet, which he wore under the crown, comes from the workshops of that period. Before being purchased by the Cluny Museum, it was included in the Treasury of Bâle cathedral.

Bottom of an alb of drawn thread. Late XVIIth century.

Around the room :

Three tapestry panels from the « History of Saint Stephen » series. French work, about 1500. (See page 184).

Surrounding the tapestries :

Decorative fragments of carved wood, from French furniture, XVIth century.

Dais of Spanish and French **retables**, XVth and XVIth century.

Room XXX — Silk materials

Articles of exceptional rareness are gathered together in this room and allow the art of silk working to be followed in all its developments.

Various frames, on the southern cyma ; in a gilt frame :

Material of figured silk. Oriental art, XIIth century. Found in the tomb of Pierre Lombard. (d. 1160), in Saint Marcel's church, Paris.

Material of silk and gold. Hispano-Arab art (XIIIth century). Found in a child's tomb, at Villalcazar, Spain.

In six black frames, from left to right :

Oriental **damask**, XIth century. Fragment of the Emperor Henry II (saint Henrys') dalmatic.

Silk **material** enhanced with Cyprus gold, decorated with fleurs de lys and fantastic animals. French or Italian art. XIIIth century.

Gold **brocaded dress material**, decorated with fantastic animals, palm-trees and women. Lucca or Palermo art, XIVth century.

Material of polychrome silk, decorated with peacocks combatant, Sassanide inspiration. Oriental art (date and origin doubtful).

Material of polychrome silk, known as « the tamer of Coire ». Byzantine or Syrio-Grecian art, Vth or VIth century.

« **The red partridge** ». Copt tapestry, VIth century.

Foulard, painted silk. Oriental art, VIth century.

Braid of silk, dyed purple, Byzantine art, VIIth century.

« **The Quadriga** ». Silk material, yellow figures, blue ground. Byzantine art, VIth century. From the Treasure at Aix-la-Chapelle.

Nine fragments of silk materials and gold brocaded dress materials. Oriental art, XIIth century.

Blue **serge**, embroidered with gold, decorated with fleurs de lys. French art, XIII century.

Near by, in small frames :

Brocaded satin decorated with lions combatant and Koranic inscriptions. Spanish art imitating Mussulman materials, middle of the XVth century.

Brocatel decorated with yellow lions combatant, on a red ground, Oriental style. Italian art, late XVth century.

Above these :

Cope of purple velvet embroidered with gold ; English art, XVIth century.

Towards the entrance doors, in frames :

Woollen **materials**, Roman art. Found at Mayence.

Clave, silk embroidered. Copt art, IVth century.

Taffeta, blue, with gold figures. Copt art, VIth century (?).

Damask, Copt art, VIth century.

Polychrome **lace braids**, Cologne material, XVth century.

Funeral masks. Copt art, IVth to VIth century.

Brocatel. Hispano-Moresque art, XIVth century.

On the Northern wall, in revolving frames.

Collection of Copt **materials**, Grecian art from Egypt, IIIrd and IVth century ; claves and orfrays of tapestry, braids, fragments of carpets and clothing, found in tombs at Akmin, Antinoe, etc.

Near by, in a glass-pulpit :

Hair-nets and reticules, of polychrome lace (or knitting) Copt workmanship, IIIrd and IVth centuries.

In a piece of furniture with wings :

Collection of materials of silk, damasks, wrought material, brocades and brocatels, etc. Arabian, Sicilian (Palermo), Spanish, Italian (Venice, Lucca), French art, of the XIIIth and XIVth centuries.

Cotton **materials**, stencil printed, imitating brocades and brocatels. German art from the XIIIth to the XIVth century.

Brocades and brocatels. Italian and French art. XVth century.

Figured **satins**. Italian art, XVth century.

Reversible **damasks**. Italian art, XVIth century.

Woollen **damask**. Spanish art, XVth century.

Figured **satin** and serge. Spanish art, XVIth century.

Orfrays of gold brocade, brocatel orfrays. Italian art, late XVth century.

At the other end of the room :

Open-worked **door** from the Abbey of Saint-Riquier (Somme).

Room XXXI — Linen Articles

In front of the window :

Robe of cloth, embroidered with flax thread. Venice, XVIth century.

In the middle of the room, in a square case :

Lower portion of an alb in « point de France »; Chain needle-made lace. Argentan workshops. Early XVIIIth century.

In three cases, Western side :

Under linen, of stitched cloth. Alsace and Normandy XVIIth and XVIIIth century.

Chemise of cloth, cotton mittens, damasked table-linen. France, XVIIIth century.

HANDKERCHIEFS

Handkerchiefs were of extreme rareness, both in the XVth and up to the end of the XVIth century. Louis XI's queen only possessed three, and Henry IV, five. Noses were wiped either on the cuffs or with the fingers. However, since forks had not yet been invented, and people ate out of a common dish with the fingers of their right hand, good breeding required that well-bred persons should wipe their noses exclusively with their left hand. Besides, from very ancient times, the left hand has always been reserved for unclean purposes and most religions consider the left hand-side as unlucky; bad omens come from the left (senestre), hence the word *sinister*. This superstition, which is to be found among the Greeks, Romans, Jews, Mussulmans, Christians, etc, still exists. The impenitent thief was nailed on the left; God classes the reprobate on his left, the Son sits on the right of his Father, visitors of note sit on the right of their host, etc.

Ladies' collars. France, XVIIth century.

Patterns **of embroidery** and ladies' handiwork. France XVIIIth century.

In two pieces of furniture with wings ; Northern side :

1° **Lace-work** (Types and samples of), needle-made and spindle-made, from the late XVth to the late XVIIIth century.

2° **Embroidered lace nets**, from the XVIth to the XVIIIth century.

Between the two, in a flat glass-case :

Men's **waistcoats.** France (Louis XV and Louis XVI).

Opposite, in a wall case :

Cope and chasuble, embroidered. French art, XVIth century.

Around the room :

Panels of tapestry from the « History of saint Stephen » series. French art, about 1500 (See page 184).

Table-cloths ; tapestry stitching. Spain, XVIth century. Bearing the arms and motto of Isabella, Queen of Spain (Elizabeth of France, daughter of King Henry II, second wife of Philip II). Dated 1568.

Small-stitch tapestry. (Elizabeth of England and ladies in court costume). English art, late XVIth century.

Spinning wheels and winders, from the XVIth to the XVIIIth century.

False door of carved oak, from the Château of Gaillon. French art, about 1510.

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